THE MONUMENTS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

IRA M. PRICE

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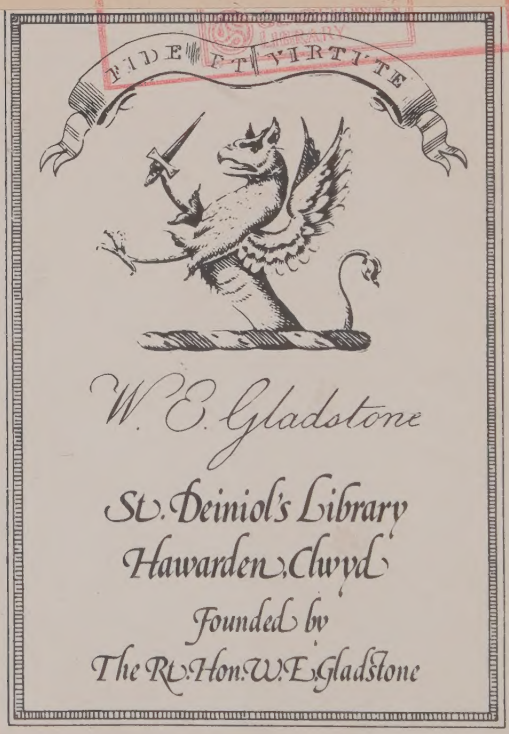

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THE MONUMENTS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

ORIENTAL LIGHT ON HOLY WRIT

BY

IRA MAURICE PRICE, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FIFTH EDITION, REVISED
WITH APPENDIX ON THE LAWS OF HAMMURABI

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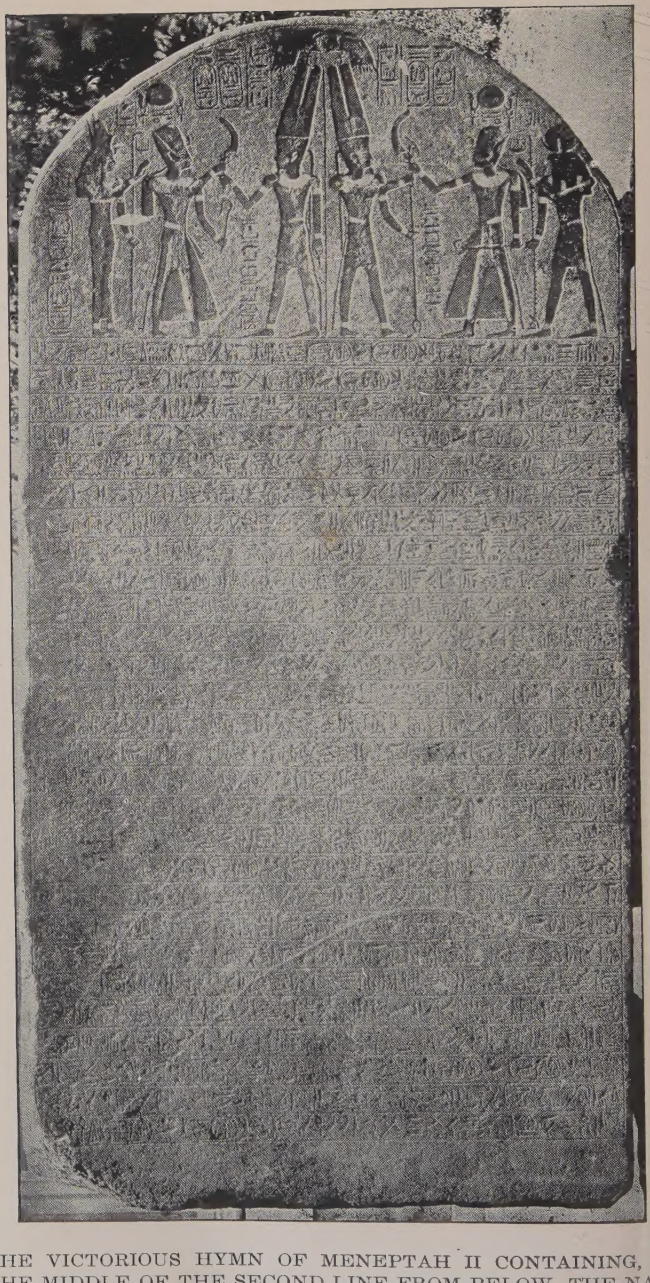

THE VICTORIOUS HYMN OF MENEPTAH II CONTAINING,
THE MIDDLE OF THE SECOND LINE FROM BELOW, THE NA
OF "ISRAEL"

TO

THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER

AND TO

MY MOTHER

PREFACE

The new-old stories told by oriental tablets, temples, and tombs, have revealed to us a new world in the ancient Orient. These stories are the fruitage of a full half-century of exploration, excavation, discovery, and decipherment of oriental antiquities. The records of these achievements now fill scores of volumes extending through a half-century of time. Romantic and fascinating as all these volumes may be, they are manifestly not within the reach of our readers, nor are they desired by the majority of them. Scattered here and there throughout these works, we find material of especial interest to readers and students of the Bible. This information is so distributed and intermingled with a mass of other matter, that its separation and organization require long and patient toil.

This volume is an attempt to furnish an answer to this oft-heard question: "Where shall I be able to find, in concise form, the best reliable information furnished by the monuments, illustrative of the Old Testament?" The abundance of material in several periods of history, and the multifarious themes calling for treatment, were continuous sources of em-

barrassment. But the limits of space required a selection and condensation of the most important monumental matter. Certain chapters present with some fullness the events of the Old Testament records. This was due to the necessity of painting the picture in which the monumental characters appear and play so important a rôle.

This work is intended for those readers and students of the Bible and ancient history who are not able to read the inscriptions on the monuments, or to make practical use of the larger technical works. Of course, some outline knowledge of the periods of Old Testament history is presupposed. The book is so arranged that it yields readily to a plan of reading and study, covering a period of six months. These chapters in their condensed form are merely introductions to a wider study of the fascinating themes. Readers who desire to investigate the subjects farther will find on pages 301-6 a select list of references to the best and latest semi-popular books on the monuments. This plan was preferred to that of presenting scores of titles of books on each chapter, which are either antiquated, or permeated with unproved theories, or too diffuse for busy readers or students.

The convenience of students was also consulted in the arrangement of the book. It will be seen that the "Contents" give the theme of each of the two hundred and eighty-five sections, distributed under the twenty-five chapters. The "List of Illus-

trations" is arranged, not according to the succession of pages, but in alphabetical order. The head-line of each page presents the theme discussed on that page. The "Ancient Dates Mentioned," "Texts Quoted and Noted," and "Index," put the volume at the ready command of every reader.

The author has laid under tribute to this work the best available sources. These are amply named in the list of "Books for Further Study," in "Texts Quoted" (pp. 315 ff.), and occasionally in the body of the book. Familiarity with the original texts of the cuneiform inscriptions was of especial value in that part of the work treating of the light from those sources.

An attempt has been made to present a selection only of the available illustrations that represent the discovery, decipherment, and contents of the inscriptions. The gratitude of the author is hereby expressed to the several publishers who either furnished electrotypes, or granted permission to copy illustrations from their works. Due acknowledgment for these courtesies is found in the "List of Illustrations" (pp. 13-15), under the several subjects. The author's thanks are also due the University of Chicago Press for the use of several electrotype plates.

Notwithstanding the great care exercised in the production of the book, the author has lived long enough to know that some errors escape the keenest scrutiny and the sharpest eye.

It is the sincere hope of the author that this book may be a right-hand helper in the study of the Old Testament; that it may infuse new life into the earlier and the later periods of the history; that it may cast a new halo about the heads of the prophets who faced the conditions existent during the activity of the great kings of the East and the West; and that it may present an unimpeachable argument for the historicity of much of this Old Testament revelation.

Ira M. Price.

Chicago, September 25, 1899.

NOTE TO THE FIFTH EDITION

The increasing interest in the archæology of the Old Testament, and in the light cast upon it by the monuments discovered in the Orient, are attested by the many expeditions at work to-day in uncovering the remains of ancient Oriental civilization. The cordial reception given the third revised edition of this work has already called for its fourth. This new edition has been corrected throughout, and the only notable discovery of the past three years, that of the laws of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about 2250 B. C., is described in The Appendix (p. 301 ff.), and illustrated by a couple of the best cuts of that exquisite document.

The adoption of this volume as a text-book in several theological seminaries, and its use in Bible classes and private study, encourage the author to believe that this branch of archæology is beginning to receive the attention to which it is rightly entitled.

May this fifth edition contribute its part to the setting forth and to the emphasizing of the necessity of archæology in the true study of the Old Testament.

AUTHOR.

September 15, 1907.

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INTRODUCTION

A CENTURY'S GLEAMS OUT OF THE ORIENT

1. This is the century of romance—romance in exploration, in discovery, in invention, in thought, and in life. The achievements of man have far exceeded the most sanguine dreams of the forefathers. We have not only made but discovered vast periods of history. During the present century history has receded by discoveries through a period of more than four thousand years before the Christian era. It has been dug out of mounds, tombs, and pyramids. It has been found written on granite, alabaster, wood, clay, and papyrus. It has been translated from tablets, rolls, cylinders, statues, and temples. Through a series of marvelous discoveries and romantic events we have been let into the secrets of wonderful centuries of hitherto unknown peoples and events. Until nearly the middle of the present century we knew nothing of the ages preceding Greek and Roman times, except through hints here and there in the Old Testament, and in several ancient compilations of uncertain value. And these incidental references possessed no value whatever in the judgment of those who doubted the historical verity

of the Old Testament, and the genuineness of the compilations.

2. Now through the coöperation of explorer, archæologist, and linguist, we are the heirs of what was formerly regarded as prehistoric times. We now see that the Old Testament is a collection of books produced comparatively late in the history of mankind; that Moses, yes, even Abraham, did not belong to an extreme antiquity, but were antedated by thousands of years in which highly civilized and cultured races occupied some of the choicest portions of the eastern hemisphere. The children of Israel, whose importance is so vigorously set forth in the Old Testament, are now seen to have been but one of the small tribes of antiquity. They were antedated, too, by numerous peoples of a far remoter antiquity. Throughout their history, the people of Israel were surrounded, influenced, and often controlled by mighty conquerors and rulers, many of whose records have been recently opened to the readers of our day.

3. These marvelous revelations from the archives of the nations of the past have painted for us a new background, in fact our first background, of the Old Testament, and have shown us the relations of Israel, religiously, socially, commercially, and politically, to their powerful contemporaries. We are now in position to judge, partly, at least, in how far the people of Israel were unlike their neighbors, and in how far they possessed the same traits of character.

We can also make a comparison of the religious requirements of the contemporary peoples, and thereby discover wherein lies the great superiority of Israel's religion. Again, the Old Testament's representation of the character and life of its contemporaries is strongly corroborated by the evidence of the inscriptions themselves. Almost the whole landscape of the Old Testament is now beautifully brought out by the new colors and figures added through the numerous discoveries in the mounds of the old East.

4. We now have a new geography of ancient days. The boundaries of great peoples in different periods, the chief cities within these limits, and their methods of commercial exchange, gathered from the inscriptions, add largely to the definiteness of our conception of the geography of Old Testament times. Long lists of countries and cities reveal to us many places hitherto lost from history. The location of Ur of the Chaldees, of Erech, of Babylon, and of scores of minor places in the East has made the study of biblical geography a new and lively subject. Palestine, especially, has yielded many important results to the patient work of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

5. The chronology also of the Old Testament has received many notable glints from the entombed records of the past. These contributions tell us that all of the currently accepted biblical chronologies are defective, are based on principles of writing history

unknown to the writers of the Old Testament. While Archbishop Ussher's system has gained general acceptance up to our day, its defects and general errancy have been revealed by the vast amount of chronological data brought to light in the excavations of the East. These data unmask many of the serious defects of current systems of chronology; they show us how we may improve on these old systems; and they also introduce new difficulties whose solutions are as yet beyond our ken. We can now, as never before, synchronize the history of many of the nations contemporaneous with Israel.

6. The activities of the explorer and the excavator are continuous, and are increasing with every decade. Our museums are rich in treasures brought from the old mounds of the East. To enter the British Museum in London, the Louvre in Paris, the Royal Museums of Constantinople, or Berlin, the Metropolitan Museum at New York, or the ancient treasure-house of the University of Pennsylvania, is almost equivalent to entering one of the palaces of one of the monarchs of ancient Assyria. The pick and the spade have opened volumes of ancient history, and volumes have been written descriptive of the experiences of excavators, and of the details of the work of excavation. Others have been produced to present the archæological results of excavation, the decipherment of the inscriptions, and in some cases to describe the points wherein these results touch the life of Israel. The

COLOSSI FROM SARGON'S PALACE AT KHORSABAD
(As they now appear in the Louvre, Paris)

books of the last fifty years in this department alone would make a fair-sized library.

7. In view of the vast achievements of explorers, archæologists, and linguists during the past half century, and of the rapidity with which new excavations are now being conducted in various biblical countries, scholars cannot afford to dogmatize regarding those periods of history, in which, up to the present time, there is a scarcity of facts. The careful student of history will constantly keep in mind the fragmentary character of his sources, and will so state his conclusions as to admit new light from whatever source. Some of the alleged results of higher criticism have been already often modified in view of the discovery of new and hitherto unknown facts. And the modifications necessitated by the pursuit of oriental archæology promise greater things for the future. It becomes us, therefore, as students of biblical and oriental history, to recognize from the beginning our limitations and ignorance, and never to use it as a standard by which we may dogmatize as to what could or could not have been at any given period in the past.

CHAPTER I

A FRAGMENTARY OLD TESTAMENT

8. The Old Testament is a religious history of Israel. It begins with the first chapter of Genesis, "God created man in his image," and sweeps through the antediluvian, the patriarchal, and national periods, the exilic and restoration times, to the Malachi prophecy of the coming of Elijah. The long stretch of time and the brief record embraced within these limits awaken a desire to discover the principle on which that history was written. A slight examination soon shows that the authors were accustomed to abbreviate their accounts, and to embody in them only such facts as bore mainly on the religious history, either progressive or retrogressive, of their own people. These facts were crucial points in the history of individuals, or of the nation, or in the relations of other nations or powers to Israel, emphasizing the religious coloring of the record. The antediluvian volumes are reduced to a few test cases where God deals directly with man and woman. The devastating deluge, an awful cataclysm full of tragedy and heartrending scenes, of untold suffering and ruin, is described in a couple of chapters, which recite in impassionate and

judicial language merely the purpose and results of that disaster as touching God's relations to man. The individual, tribal, and national struggles subsequent to the deluge and prior to the call of Abram—and there must have been many—are embodied, aside from the building of Babel, merely in a condensed table of the lineal descendants of Noah and the ancestors of Abraham. In other words, the compiler of this record saw fit to pass over the strifes and battles of the expanding race, and to mention only the things which would have significance for the history of Israel. Thus even the peoples who should touch Israel in the future, and the founder of that chosen people, come in for bare mention in a genealogical table. Of the long and eventful lives of the patriarchs, we possess but brief accounts; and these accounts are presumably statements of the most significant religious acts and words in their careers. Israel's sojourn in Egypt, the latter part of which was in serfdom, is told in aggravatingly few words, while their deliverance—God's deliverance of them—is expanded and extended through a series of chapters. Their wilderness wanderings of forty years receive larger attention than any other event covering an equal space of time. But in the record of this eventful period the prominence is given, not to the hardships of wilderness life, but to laws and regulations for the rebellious and obstinate people, and the means adopted to defeat Jehovah's plan for them. The con-

quest of Canaan is compressed within a few chapters. The dark ages of Israel's history—the period of the Judges—covering two or three centuries, barely note some of the terrific tragedies which next to wiped out the tribal and national life of Israel. From the founding of the kingdom to its final collapse before the Chaldean army at Jerusalem, from the restoration to the close of the Old Testament, there is an ominous silence regarding events which deserve and always receive chief prominence at the hands of secular historians. The writers have designedly chosen only such events as would most strongly set forth the real purpose of their narrative.

9. It must now be evident that what we possess in the Old Testament can scarcely be termed a history at all. It lacks some of the chief characteristics of such literature. It has been shown to be partial in its statements—partial to the religious and moral phases. It consequently omits, not only single events, but whole series of events, which from a secular point of view would have been of most fascinating interest. This omission of many causes and events has given the Old Testament a fragmentary and broken appearance. Breaks occur of even a century or more, as during the Egyptian sojourn, without materially affecting the final purpose of the authors. It would satisfy our curiosity to a profound degree if we could ascertain what occurred in the wilderness during the supposed thirty-seven years which fall between verses

13 and 14 of the twentieth chapter of Numbers. Why was the burial place of Moses left a secret? How can we explain the startling narrative, figures, and stories of the book of Judges? Were they successive, or contemporaneous, or are they described in round numbers merely? The omissions here are something appalling to the accurate student. And where, too, can we locate that charming idyl, the book of Ruth? The apparent carelessness of the author, when he specifies its period by that indefinite phrase, "when the judges judged," is an aggravation that receives no comfort from the general purpose of the book. Then, again, how is it that Solomon's reign, the acme of Israel's glory, commercially and politically, is disposed of in a few short chapters? There must have been trying and troublesome secessions in his latter days, which brought about such a weakening of his power and kingdom that almost at a signal it fell to pieces. How glad we would be to find out the little foxes that undermined the walls and towers of his strength, and brought his defenses tumbling to the ground. True, we know of his alien wives and their idolatry, but these were probably only one of the causes of his downfall. Another omission of signal character is found in the books of Chronicles. No mention is made of the heinous sin of David or of the rebellion of Absalom; the kings of the northern kingdom, the ten tribes, are entirely omitted, unless when in conflict or in alliance with Judah they re-

ceive mention. Then, in the prophetic books, it now and then happens, as in the case of Obadiah, Joel, and Jonah, that we cannot find sufficient historical data or even hints to give them a definite and undisputed position in history. The books of Job and Ecclesiastes are likewise embraced in this class. Their local and historical statements are too meager to rescue them from the field of contest. These are a few of the outstanding examples of omissions in the Old Testament which reveal to us its broken and fragmentary character as history.

10. The fragments of Israel's history which we possess are not devoid of character. They breathe out the spiritual life, mercurial as it was, of Israel at different periods of her history. In some instances, it is true, the moral element may be so faint as almost to evade detection. Some of the repulsive events narrated in Judges and some in Kings are, nevertheless, possessed of a moral quality, and are used to enforce a moral lesson. To add significance and force to the religious character of the record we find introduced, at irregular intervals, prophets who acted as mouthpieces of God. Their words—the words of God—are instruction to his people, statutes for their guidance, admonitions for their help, and warnings against sin. The germ of the narrative everywhere is the statement of the prophet, not regarding present conditions and needs only, but often pointing to the future, both of Israel and of Israel's adherents.

These prophetic words teem with truth which Israel could not afford to neglect. They were suited to Israel's case, and form a valuable part of the records we now possess. In some periods, as those of the prophetic books, the prophet's words were so sweeping as to touch, not Israel only, but all the outlying nations. Their fiery zeal burned with Jehovah's love, or with his consuming anger. They poured out the divine wrath on their, and consequently God's, enemies, or overflowed with passionate tenderness toward the faithful worshiper of Jehovah.

11. Another characteristic is soon discovered, especially in the words of the prophets. In the revelation of the character of Jehovah we find a progression, a development. Each successive revelation of himself through the prophets and others brings out more strongly some attribute not noted in preceding prophecies. By this increasing strength and brilliancy in the revealed character of the Jehovah of the Old Testament we recognize God's method of instructing and elevating his chosen people. In the deluge, his mercy in saving the few is almost superseded by his unrelenting justice. This latter attribute is also magnified in the destruction of the Canaanites. In the acme of the kingdom his majesty and glory shine forth, while throughout the decline of the kingdom his long-suffering patience outshines all other attributes. The return from the exile magnifies his mercy and forgiveness in restoring Israel to

favor. This progressiveness is also apparent in the growth of the Messianic idea.

Beginning with the *protevangelium* (Gen. iii. 15), indefinite and vague as it is, we discover that the prophecy of a struggle between good and evil in the distant future grows in later prophecies more and more distinct as time rolls by. The selection of Abraham, Jacob, Judah, David, marks with ever more convergent lines the specific progenitors of the Messiah of New Testament times. The person, character, purpose, and work of this Messiah attains greater and greater completeness as we proceed down through the Old Testament. In Isaiah (chapter liii.), the thought has so far advanced that we find a picture, a prefigurement, of the character and significance of the sufferings of this Messiah. Succeeding prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others picture the means of entering and the welcome reception into this kingdom, and the part which these new members shall play in its extension. The focal point of all these utterances is the Messiah of the New Testament and the kingdom he established.

12. But behind all of these acts of the prophets and the people there was a background. Certain conditions among the people demanded certain messages of the prophets. These conditions among the people were of numerous kinds. There were wars, oppressions, and peace; idolatries, violations of law and statute, political alliances, broken faith, and cap-

tivities. The prophet's messages were suited to each specific case with remarkable nicety. Now, if the purport of the prophet's words is to be understood, we must know to whom he is speaking, and what evils he is trying to remedy. That is to say, the real significance of the prophet's words cannot be understood until we are able to specify, in part, at least, the conditions which his words were intended to meet. Now, this fact opens up to us a new and intensely engrossing field of research. It tells us that we must endeavor so far as practicable to find the background upon which the life of Israel can be portrayed in its proper colors.

13. Israel was not one of the great peoples of antiquity, but simply a small tribe, then a small nation. She came into existence late in time, as we now know, and among the great political and commercial peoples of early days played an insignificant part. She was a wanderer for several centuries, a minor conqueror for a brief time, then a servant to successive masters of the world-empires. She was thus brought into living contact with all of the great and small peoples of the eastern Mediterranean coast countries of her day. These peoples were living propagandists of certain forms of worship, of specific manners and customs, of commercial methods, and of a coined political policy. Israel was always susceptible to these subtle influences, and retains in her very system, social, commercial, religious, and political, the

marks of the wily foreigner. The powerful influence of these neighbors and rulers is apparent in almost every address of the prophets. They strike at the deadly adder of idolatry, the gaunt giant of oppression, the demon of debauchery and drunkenness, and the fool who follows only in the ways of the alien. In the light of the knowledge of these intruders, the prophet's words increase in might and effectiveness tenfold.

14. It cannot but be evident that students of the Bible who would know what the fragments of Old Testament history mean, must be able to read between the lines. This must be done, not by the imagination, but by actual information secured through a careful study of the contemporaneous literature of the Old Testament. Many of these breaks in the Old Testament record can be already filled out from the inscriptions on the monuments. Whole campaigns and periods have been revealed in the marvelous light of the discoveries of this century. Painted on its new background, this Old Testament is a new book, filled with a pulsating life, and appealing to the highest instincts of the faithful student.

THE PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH AND THE VILLAGE OF KAFRA DURING THE INUNDATION OF THE NILE

CHAPTER II

A LONE OLD TESTAMENT

15. In order the better to appreciate the discoveries of this century, let us inquire as to the estimate placed on the Old Testament one hundred years ago. That was a time when men had begun to test every question by canons of criticism. Every statement of scientist, logician, or historian was cast into the crucible, and tried by the searching fires of criticism. The position of the Bible as the treasure of the church did not exempt it from the most rigorous test. Its claim to an extreme antiquity rather invited the challenges of the critical party. It was laid alongside all other so-called historical works, and given the same tests. The first question asked was, "Has it any contemporaries? Are there any documents of the same age and date which verify its claims to so great antiquity?" Let us ask one of the scientific critics of one hundred years ago a few questions, the answer to which will specify his views regarding the Old Testament.

16. "How far back in your judgment does history, genuine history, reach into the past? What is the oldest history recognized by your canons of criticism?

What value do you put upon the Old Testament as a truthful picture of its times?" Answer—"Hard questions, but easily answered by a scientific spirit, full of zeal for the truth. The oldest history known to us is the history of Greece and Rome, reaching back to 400 years B. C. True, there are claims that this history runs back to the seventh and eighth centuries B. C., but such statements are based on mythical accounts, deserving of no credence whatever. There are also works such as those assigned by many scholars of this day to Josephus, Berosus, and a few other ancient writers, who claim to present records from an extreme antiquity. But a careful examination reveals the fact that their works are all compilations of second or third-hand matter, are mixed masses of fact and fiction from indeterminate and undetermined periods of the past. Such methods of history-making rule them out of court. And as for the Old Testament about which you inquire, our first canon of criticism effectually disposes of it, viz: Credible history must be supported or corroborated by contemporaneous documents; in other words, its own testimony regarding its truthfulness cannot be accepted without some outside testimony. Allow me to illustrate: In Genesis, chapter xiv., we find that, in some distant age, four kings of the East had conquered and held in subjection for twelve years the five kings of the cities of the plain. In the thirteenth year these kings of the West rebelled against

their eastern masters. In the fourteenth year these eastern lords planned and executed a great campaign against the West-land rebels, conquering and capturing and plundering their former subjects. Now, this is a most unlikely story. There is no evidence outside of the Old Testament that any such great kings of the East ever lived, no evidence that the West ever suffered such a disastrous defeat at the hands of any rulers at that distant day. In fact, the whole story seems to be the invention of some enthusiastic Jew to laud the military ability of Abraham, and to explain the origin of the tithe and of Melchizedek.

"Another case also should be mentioned. Who were the Hittites? They are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, and sometimes as being a powerful people, but is there any extra-biblical evidence that they ever existed? Not one scrap. They are simply one of the mythical peoples with which the Old Testament is filled, and are introduced merely to magnify the vast administrative ability of David and Solomon in commanding and using foreign peoples in their armies and in their service.

"There is one name in Isaiah (chapter xx. 1) which well illustrates my point. Sargon is mentioned as king of Assyria. Other kings of Assyria are given in other passages, but the writers have been extremely consistent and very shrewd in their introduction of these mythical monarchs. This case in

Isaiah is unique. The name is not mentioned again in the Old Testament, neither is it found in any other literature. Now, it is manifestly absurd to say that such a name is anything but a myth, or a scribal error.

"No, your Old Testament has no support whatever from contemporaneous documents; in fact, there are no documents contemporaneous with the times in which it claims to have originated. It is a product of a mythical and legendary age; it belongs back in the fogs and mists of antiquity before the dawn of true and corroborative history. Its uncorroborated claims rule it out of court, and we must still maintain that history as such cannot be traced back beyond the time of the father of history, Herodotus."

In this manner our eighteenth century critic disposed of every document that was unsupported by contemporaneous witnesses.

17. Now this Old Testament which he relegated to the age of myths and legends claimed to be older than the extreme age which he allowed for Greek and Roman history, viz., 400 B. C. In fact, its last prophetic book, Malachi, claimed to be older than the age and writings of Herodotus, the father, *not* of history, as our critic claimed, but of *Greek* history. Beginning near the extreme limit of Greek history, 400 B. C., this Old Testament claimed to penetrate backward about one thousand years, and to describe peoples and events, all of whom lived out their day

before Greece or Rome arose to supremacy. Thus this Old Testament one hundred years ago stood alone in an otherwise unknown age. It was the only known representative of the ten centuries preceding the rise of Greece and Rome. One hundred years ago there was not a single document contemporaneous with the Old Testament known to be in existence. Its statements had to stand on their own merits. If contradicted or challenged, they could make no reply. The friends of the Old Testament had no contemporary witnesses to subpœna to the trial through which it was passing. This was the case even after the beginning of the present century. To the friend of the Old Testament there was no adequate reply to be made to the challenges of science. To the purely scientific investigator, the question was settled against the Old Testament.

18. But let us pursue another line of research. Does not the Old Testament make mention of many names as if they were those of nations? and some of them as if they were great nations? Did not Abram come from Ur of the Chaldees in the far East, stop at a place called Harran in Mesopotamia, pass down through Canaan into Egypt, thence back into Canaan? Did not some of his relatives and descendants settle among the mountains and highlands not far from the Jordan? Did not Israel suffer a galling bondage under a powerful race in the Nile valley? Did not David and Solomon carry on friendly rela-

tions with an industrious and maritime commercial people located in Tyre and Sidon? Did not Ahaz suffer at the hands of a powerful Assyrian king, whom he met at Damascus? And was not the kingdom of the ten tribes crushed at Samaria and its population carried away to Assyria? Was not Nineveh obliterated before its mortal foes? Was not Judah's king besieged in his capital, and his own person imprisoned within the walls of great Babylon? Did not Cyrus capture this same great city and allow the Jewish exiles to return in joy to the ruins of their homes and capital, Jerusalem?

19. These simple questions affirmatively answered in the Old Testament lead to another line of inquiry. Can we not find in those countries recognized in other works than the Old Testament records any traces of a former race? Were there no external signs that such persons or peoples ever existed? Some of the cities mentioned in the Old Testament books are now in existence, for example, Damascus, Joppa, and Jerusalem; and in Herodotus' day, Sidon, Babylon, and Tyre could be found. Let us take a bird's-eye view of the countries where such events are supposed to have taken place. Down in the beautiful land of the Nile stand some of the most majestic of all ruins, pyramids, sphinxes, temples, and crumbling walls of dead cities, all coming down from unknown times. Then the great Mesopotamian valley, the fertile fields of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, are

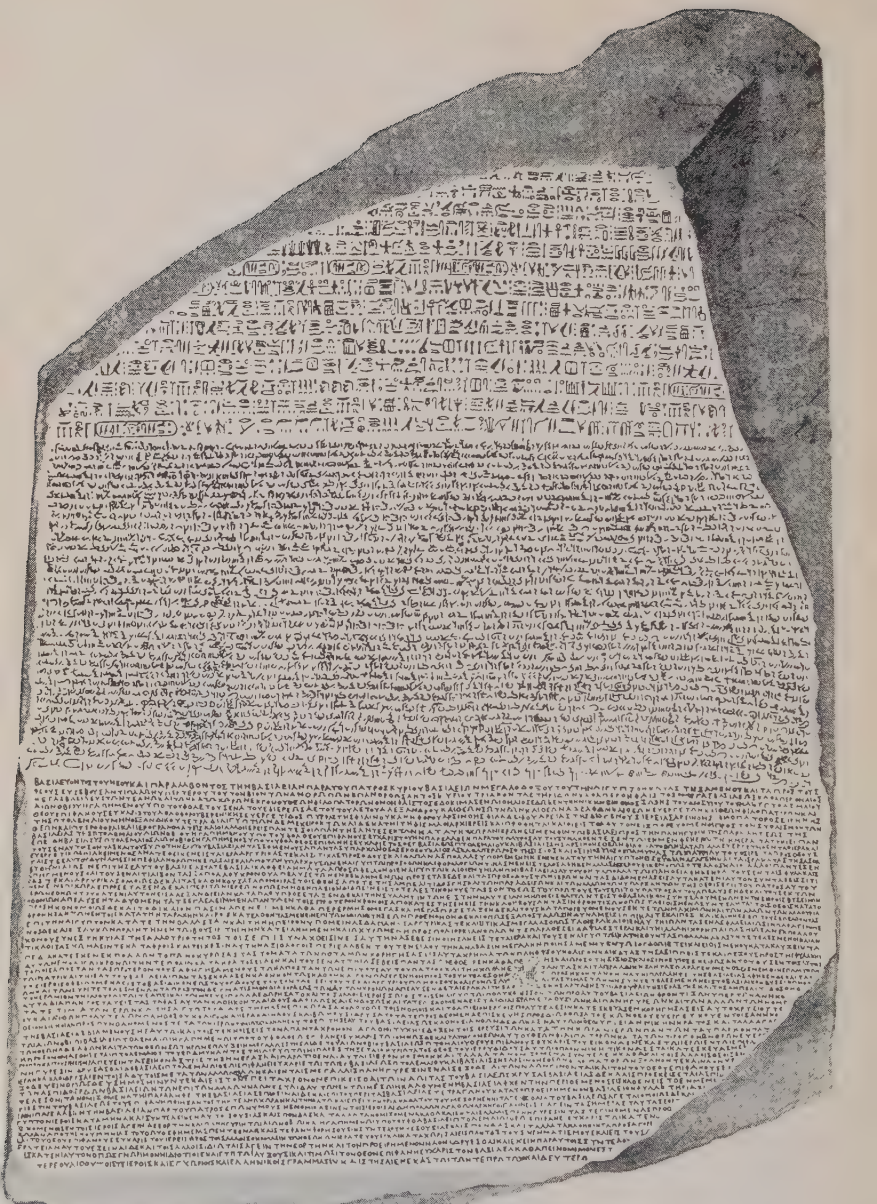
BIRS NIMRUD, SUPPOSED RUINS OF THE TOWER OF BABEL

dotted by mounds of mysterious origin, through some of which protrude bits of walls and veneered brick towers. The east coast line of the Mediterranean Sea at the foot of Lebanon is also rich in remains of a bygone glory. The mountain passes of southern Asia Minor in many places are hewn on one or both sides into artistic forms to commemorate the glory of a once-flourishing people. The lonely columns and lion-laired ruins of Persia point to a once wealthy, proud ruler of a powerful and expansive nation. The very ground of the holy city, Jerusalem, is teeming with marks of an older city, of an older civilization. In the following chapters we shall look at some of the excavations carried on within the limits of these lands.

CHAPTER III

EGYPT'S RIDDLE READ

20. The Nile River robs the Sahara desert on its eastern boundary of a long strip of territory. To this margin of land is given the name Egypt. In ancient times it embraced about 110,000 square miles of territory, of which only about 12,000, or about the same extent as Palestine, was arable. Through the middle of this territory we find a green ribbon of vegetation closely hugging the fertile river. The width of this strip of land varies from four to sixteen miles, and in Egypt proper extends from the first cataract of the Nile to the Mediterranean Sea, a distance of 550 miles. This "child of the Nile," Egypt, is fertilized by the alluvia of Central Africa, carried on the bosom of this noble stream and deposited on the fields and gardens of the Nile-dwellers. This entire valley on either side is to-day almost one series of museum specimens. The grand ruined temples of Luxor, and its neighbors, the royal tombs in the mountain sides, and Philæ on an island in the Nile, make this a choice collection of remains from the past. Then Tel el-Amarna, where a peasant woman found, in 1887, over three hundred cuneiform tab-



THE ROSETTA STONE

lets, correspondence between Asiatic and Egyptian kings in the fifteenth century B. C., claims no small attention from archæologists. The great pyramids, and sphinxes, and obelisks all arouse an intense interest in whatever people may have erected these stupendous miracles of engineering skill and construction. Close examination of many mounds of sand shows that they cover the ruins of some ancient city or temple or palace, whose history is buried still deeper from our view. Travelers had noted for long that these old Egyptian ruins carried on them a kind of ornamentation, made up of pictures of real and imaginary objects, set in a kind of orderly manner. Was it a language? Who could tell? If so, the key to its reading had been lost with the passing of its readers. The door into this old civilization seemed to be securely bolted and barred. Men began to despair of ever knowing anything about it.

21. One of the best results of Napoleon's campaign to Egypt touches our theme. In 1799, just one hundred years ago, a French engineer, by the name of Boussard, while excavating at St. Julien, near Rosetta, at the mouth of the Nile, hit upon a strange stone. It was carefully removed from its bed and found to be of black granite, 3 feet 9 inches in height by 2 feet 4½ inches in width, and 11 inches in thickness. It is thought to have been at least twelve inches higher, and to have had a rounded top. On this block could be seen at the top, parts of fourteen

lines of characters resembling those seen everywhere on the obelisks and ruined temples of the land. Adjoining these and below are thirty-two lines of another species of script, while at the bottom are fifty-four lines, twenty-eight of them complete, in Greek uncial letters. The Greek was readily readable, and told the story of the stone. It was set up in 195 B. C., in honor of Ptolemy Epiphanes, by the priests of Egypt assembled at Memphis, because he had canceled the arrearages of certain taxes due from the sacerdotal body. Among other things, the priests say of Ptolemy that "he was pious toward the gods, he ameliorated the life of man, he was full of generous piety, he showed forth with all his might his sentiments of humanity." He lightened the taxes, restored the temple revenues, discarded promotion fees from priests, and renewed temple services. These grateful priests had ordered their memorial decree to be inscribed in the sacred characters of Egypt, in the vernacular, and in Greek. It was soon conjectured that the two inscriptions standing above the Greek told the same story. Such being the case, the value of the document was at once perceived. It was carefully copied, and packed for shipment. But the victory of the British at Alexandria, and the surrender of the city in 1801, transferred this treasure to the hands of the British commissioner, W. R. Hamilton, one of the most distinguished scholars of that day. The stone was shipped to England and deposited in

JEAN FRANÇOIS CHAMPOLLION
DECIPHERER OF THE ROSETTA STONE

the British Museum, where visitors to-day may see it, carefully covered by a glass case. "This apparently insignificant stone," says Baron Bunsen, "shares with the great and splendid work, *La Description de l'Egypte*, the honor of being the only result of vital importance to universal history accruing from a vast expedition, a brilliant conquest, and a bloody combat for the possession of Egypt."

22. Although the Greek inscription at the bottom of the stone could be translated, the upper registers remained riddles. But this stone apparently carried on its face the key to their meaning. Various attempts of different scholars for twenty years succeeded in ascertaining the value of only a few characters. In 1818, Champollion, a Frenchman who had busied himself before this date with Coptic and the geography of Egypt, began the study of Egyptian. By a most painstaking comparison of the known tongue with the two unknown registers, he succeeded in discovering the long-lost combination that unlocked the old door to the civilization of the Nile valley.

23. In less than thirty years, this discovery of the Rosetta stone led to the unfolding of the history of a people who antedated the most extreme claims of antiquity of the Old Testament by more than 3,000 years. The history of the peoples of the Nile valley covered a period of nearly 5,000 years, while that of the Old Testament covered only 1,500 years, and

those 1,500 years were contemporaneous with the youngest periods of this newly discovered old history. Was the oldest portion of the Old Testament written in the fourteenth century B. C., then it was 3,000 years younger than the oldest records of Egyptian history. A marvelous revelation was that! Where ruins and desolation had held sway, and a forgotten past lay slumbering beneath the sands, and the rocks of its ancient hills, there now marched forth a mighty civilization, extending over incredible stretches of time. The stately obelisks and majestic columns were still as the tomb, but their story now rings through the enlightened nations of the earth. Their designers and builders perished thousands of years ago, and their kings lie silent in their tombs, or in our museums, but their testimony abides, unchallenged, chiseled in imperishable rocks.

24. This resurrection of old Egypt disturbed the theories and canons of many a thinker. "Is it possible," said some of them, "that there can be a book older than the Old Testament, which we have always regarded as mythical and legendary? It does not seem reasonable. But the best authorities on this ancient language, and men who have not the least interest in the Old Testament, tell us that it is true, and we have no reason to doubt their sincerity. The evidence is shown us cut into the hardest of rocks, and we cannot doubt it. If now we believe that Egypt existed so long ago with so wonderful a civ-

THE ROSETTA STONE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

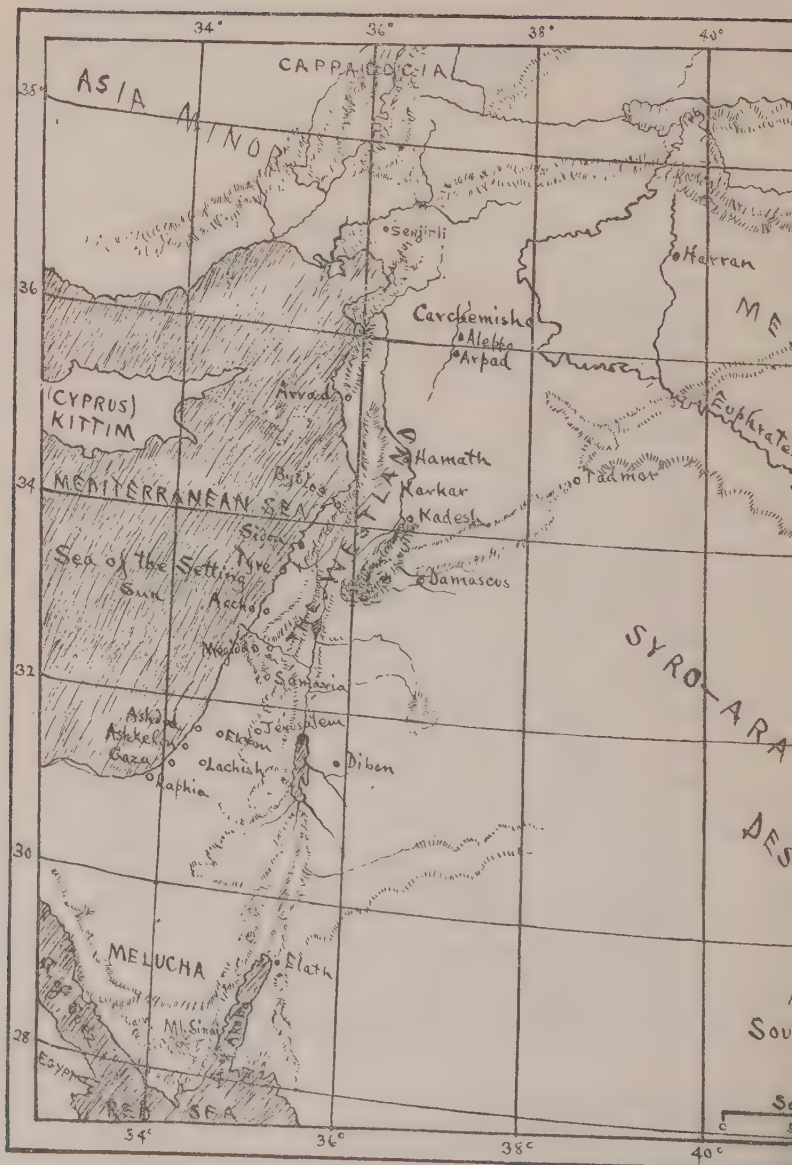
ilization, we cannot object to the probable existence of the Hebrews, who belong to a comparatively younger age." There are, then, some points in which the Old Testament seems to be true. Egypt, wherever mentioned, is no longer simply a name, but the home of a highly civilized and vigorous people, dating from 5,000 B. C., a people, too, whose fortunes for centuries run parallel to the Hebrews of the Old Testament.

25. Egypt is, to-day, yielding rich rewards to her excavators. She is turning over her vast storehouse of antiquities to the patient and long-suffering archæologist. The Egypt Exploration Fund alone has published more than a dozen volumes descriptive of the finds of its excavators since the organization of the society in 1882. These are full of important drawings, inscriptions, and portraits of the most valuable kind. In this mass of material we are finding not only new evidences of the greatness of the old civilization of the Nile valley, but also testimony to the accuracy of the records and hints of the Old Testament regarding the character of the ancient Egyptians. In addition to this we are learning that the early records of the Old Testament are replete with traces of an Egyptian coloring, of an Egyptian influence upon the annalist.

CHAPTER IV

MESOPOTAMIA'S MOUNDS OPENED

26. The Old Testament abounds with references to peoples who occupied the great valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. To this fertile basin of Western Asia both kingdoms of Israel, the ten tribes and Judah, were carried away captive. Travelers through this valley for centuries had noticed many strange ruins. Scattered here and there over this valley they saw artificial mounds, dry beds of ancient canals, ruins of towers, and cities, some of them of remarkable extent. In fact, the entire sweep of territory from Armenia on the north to the Persian Gulf on the south, and from the highlands of Iran on the east to the great Arabian desert and Syria on the west, was dotted with ruins and traces of some ancient and long-departed civilization. These same travelers had noticed and occasionally picked up here and there, especially near the mounds, bits of burnt bricks and fragments of tablets, upon which were found some peculiar wedge-shaped characters. No one could determine whether they were writing or simply a species of artistic ornamentation. They were carefully preserved, simply as mementos and relics of an unknown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36°
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28
CAPPADOCIA
ASIA MINOR
Senjirli
Harran
Carchemish
Alebbo
Arpad
(CYPRUS)
KITTIM
Arvad
Hamath
Byblos
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Karkar
Kadesh
Tadmor
Sidon
Tyre
Sea of the Setting Sun
Acco
Damascus
Megiddo
Samaria
SYRO-ARA
Ashdod
Ashkelon
Ekron
Jerusalem
Gaza
Lachish
Diben
Rephia
DES
MELUCHA
Elath
Mt. Sinai
EGYPT
RED SEA
Sou
34°
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CASPIAN SEA
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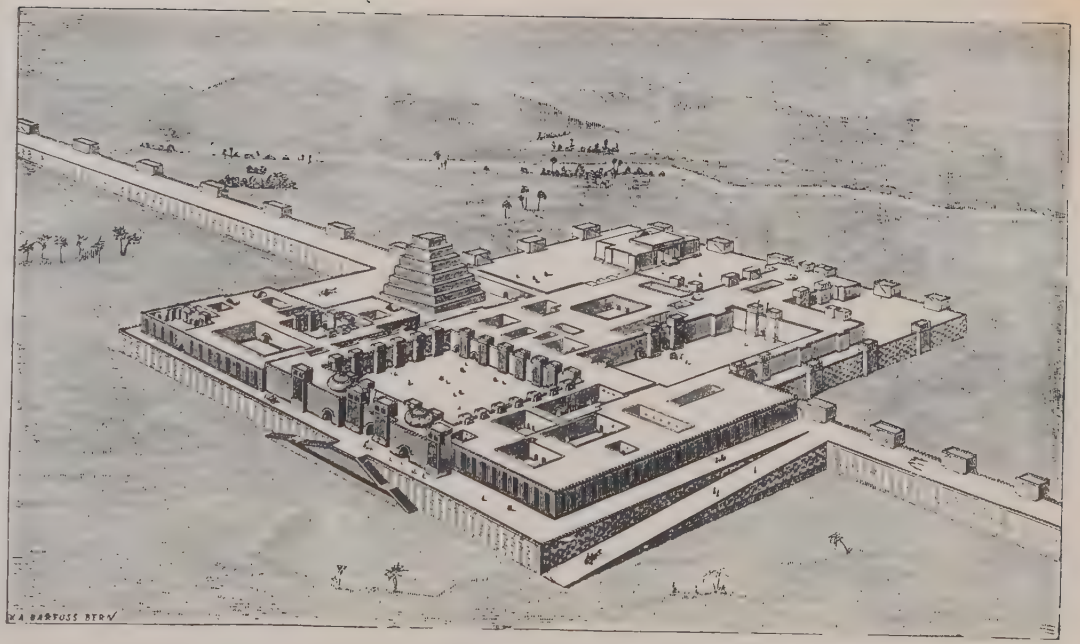
L. Urumieh
Khorsabad
NINEVEH
Arbela
ZAGROS
MOUNTAINS
MEDIA
Ecbatana
Behistun
Bagdad
ABYLONIA
Tigris R.
ELAM
Sipper
(Sepharvaim)
Abu Habba
BABYLON
Nippur
Borsippa
(Bars Nimrud)
Susa
Erech
Tello
Larsa
Ur
(Mugheir)
Bosrah
CHALDEA
PERSIAN GULF
Sea of the Rising Sun
ASIA
200

antiquity. These mounds remained practically undisturbed, except by the rains which tore great gashes in their sides, until the present century.

27. Between 1808 and 1820 an Englishman by the name of C. J. Rich, who had lived a romantic life in the East, as a cadet, a writer, a secretary in an embassy, and an adventurer, landed at Bagdad. While at this place he became intensely interested in the old mounds of the country, and made serious attempts to investigate them. In the gullies cut by centuries of rains, he gathered numerous little clay bricks, covered on every side with the same wedge-shaped characters as those seen on the bits of bricks found by travelers on the plains. These he carefully saved, and, like every loyal Briton, gave his collection to the British Museum, where it may now be seen. The results of his (Mr. Rich's) work were published in two volumes, one in 1815 and a second in 1818.

28. Practically nothing was done to further the work done by Rich until 1842, when France sent a consul by the name of P. E. Botta to the city of Mosul, on the upper Tigris River. Botta, by training and inclination an archæologist, noticed across the Tigris River, east of Mosul, a range of extensive artificial mounds, which were supposed to be the ruins of ancient Nineveh. These so aroused his curiosity and interest that he employed a company of native diggers. While engaged in this work, the natives perceived with what care Mr. Botta preserved and put away every bit

of brick which carried on it any marks. In fact, the peasants from the neighborhood brought him many fragments of alabaster and bricks. One of them inquired why he was so careful to keep all such bits of broken stuff. When told that the consul was in search of sculptures, a peasant advised him to investigate the mound on which his village was built, because in digging the foundations for their new houses many such things had been found. On further inquiry, the consul learned that the village was Khorsabad, situated on a little hill near the river Khauser, about twelve miles northeast of Mosul. Mr. Botta transferred his force of diggers to this new place. After an all-round examination of this curious hill, he began operations by sinking a shaft into the mound. Not far from the surface he struck on the top of a wall, which he found to be built of gypsum. A wider trench was made and carried along in the same direction as the wall. Botta soon found that he had entered a room of immense proportions. The walls were all wainscoted with sculptured alabaster slabs, upon which he saw a panorama. There were figures of battles, sieges, triumphal processions, hunting scenes, and like events, all in relief. Across the face of many of these were lines of characters similar to those found on the bits of burnt bricks and alabaster found scattered on the plain. Aroused to the highest pitch of excitement and joy, Botta passed from the first room into others of similar dimensions and ornamentation and figures. He



THE PALACE OF SARGON II AT KHORSABAD RESTORED
(After Place)

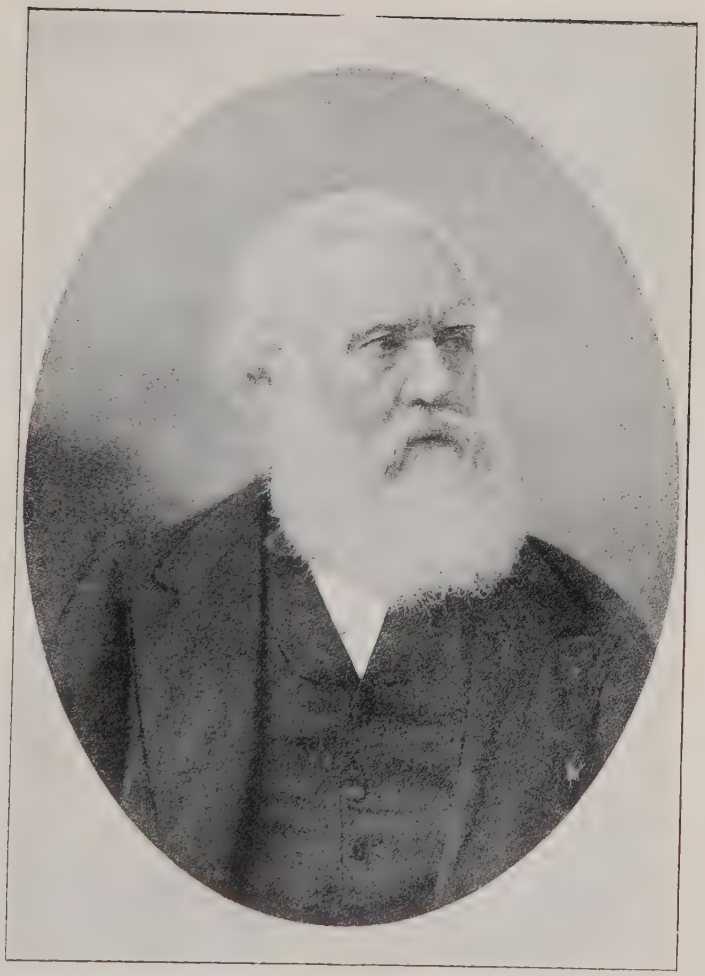
pushed on and on, until he discovered acres of such chambers, with scores of remarkable figures and colossi. When he once stopped to think of the antiquity of his finds, he was astonished. He faced a new race. A new-old civilization gazed upon him from every slab of alabaster, and from every giant colossus. In fact, he seemed to be walking in a dreamland, inhabited by gods, fairies, and colossi, by demons, dragons, and crooked things.

'What can all this mean? Who built this structure? In what century did he live? To what nation did he belong? Are these walls telling me their tales of joy and woe? Is this beautiful cuneiformed character a language? I know not. I can read their glory and their victories in their figures, but their story, their age, their blood, is to me a mystery. Their remains mark the fall of a glorious and a brilliant past, but of a past known not to a living man.'

29. Botta's discoveries aroused the whole archæological and historical world with enthusiasm. A tremendous impulse was given to the study of the Orient. The French government, highly gratified at the surprising success of its consul, supplied him with ample means for further research. With enthusiastic efforts and energy Botta prosecuted his discoveries until he succeeded in revealing what afterward proved to be the palace of the great Sargon (722-705 B. C.), probably the most magnificent palace the world has ever seen, covering an area of more than twenty-five acres.

It stood in the northwest side of a square, almost one mile on a side. The whole square was inclosed by a high battlemented wall, and pierced by two gates on each side. Within this square mile of inclosed territory were traces of lakes and small buildings of various kinds. Botta secured in these ruins and brought to Europe the first great collection of Assyrian antiquities, which form to-day one of the most highly prized treasures of the Louvre in Paris. Botta, in conjunction with Flandin, an architect, prepared, and the French government published, the results of this expedition in five great folio volumes, entitled *Monument de Ninive.*

30. Mr. A. H. Layard, a young English scholar, visited the East early in the forties to look over the prospects of profitable excavations. Nimroud, a mound about twenty miles southeast of Mosul, and about one and one-half east of the present bed of the Tigris, especially attracted his attention. The successes of Botta stirred up Layard's desire to begin excavation, but the means were not at hand. In the autumn of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning indicated his readiness to meet the expenses, for a limited time, of excavations in Assyria, intimating that a successful campaign would guarantee help for the same work in the future. Mr. Layard at once set out for Mosul, organized his gang, and began work at Nimroud. The difficulties in his way were almost beyond the limits of endurance. But over all he persevered, and in an



AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD
ARCHAEOLOGIST

incredibly short time succeeded in uncovering one of the most beautiful palaces of antiquity. This palace afterward proved to be that of a king of Assyria, Assurnatsirpal, who reigned 884-860 B. C., a contemporary of Omri, king of Israel. The rooms of this palace were everywhere wainscoted with alabaster slabs about seven feet high. Marvelous figures in relief were found on each separate slab, or sometimes extended over several slabs. Across the middle of these were found lines of the same wedge-shaped characters. Out of this palace Layard took more than one hundred colossi and alabaster slabs, and transported a large number of them to the British Museum. About twenty-five of them may be seen in the museums and colleges of our country. One of the chief attractions of visitors to the British Museum is the collection of giant-winged, human-headed bulls and lions, and eagle-headed deities, brought by Layard from Nimroud. Layard's work at this mound extended, at intervals, over several years, during which he uncovered three palaces. Since his day Rassam and George Smith have gathered precious treasures in the same mound.

31. A few years later Layard made a second expedition to Assyria. At this time the House of Commons, with full confidence in his successes, voted the British Museum authorities £3,000 for the purpose of carrying on further excavations in the East. Mr. Layard's intense interest in the mounds across the

Tigris River facing Mosul led him to attempt work here. Except the slight digging by Botta's men, these great mounds had stood undisturbed for more than two thousand years. Xenophon passed here at the head of his 10,000 Greeks 400 B. C., and knew not what they covered. But the books of Jonah and Nahum are sketches of their past. They covered the great and cruel Nineveh, the pride of its peoples and the scourge of the nations. She had been lost from the sight of man for more than two thousand years. Indeed, her very location was lost, forgotten, buried under the dust of ages.

Layard's systematic and energetic work at this mound rewarded him by the uncovering of another palatial structure, built on the same magnificent proportions as those previously discovered. This palace proved to be that of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (705-681 B. C.), whose attack on Jerusalem in 701 B. C. is said to have been followed by the destruction of his army of 185,000 on the plains of Philistia. This palace covered, according to the traces of foundations laid bare by Layard, an area of eight acres—about four ordinary city blocks—and contained more than seventy rooms of various dimensions. This, as the other palaces, was lined with inscriptions and figures picturing events at home and abroad.

32. Layard's successes here, and in other places, created an unbounded enthusiasm among all students of oriental lore. They brought to light, and set up

before their eyes, objects twenty-five centuries old; in fact, set them face to face with a forgotten, unknown, and long-lost civilization. Layard has told us the story of his epoch-making excavations in three romantic volumes, *Nineveh and Its Remains,* 2 vols., and *Nineveh and Babylon,* 1 vol. He has also published two volumes of drawings of the monuments, entitled *The Monuments of Nineveh,* and one volume of inscriptions. The English government, always ready to recognize and to assist scientific research, appointed Mr. Layard to a number of important diplomatic positions where he could further the work which he had so successfully carried on for many years. After a most brilliant career as an archæologist and diplomat, he died, July 5, 1894.

Layard's work was continued by Rassam, one of his right-hand men in his excavations, by Taylor and Loftus and Henry C. Rawlinson. The French were also rivals in the field, with such workers as Thomas, Fresnel, and Oppert. Each investigator has left us a valuable record descriptive of his findings—some of these attain to more than a single volume.

33. It was not until 1872 that any other notable excavations were made. At this time, George Smith, a young genius, an officer in the British Museum, discovered fragments of a tablet on which was inscribed an account of the deluge. *The Daily Telegraph* of London sent him to the site of Nineveh to find, if possible, other fragments of the same story or event.

Smith conducted excavations in one of the mounds of old Nineveh, and was rewarded by finding a library of 30,000 tablets and cylinders, which had belonged to the collection of Assurbanipal (668-626 B. C.), the last great king of Assyria, a contemporary of Manasseh and Josiah of Judah. The position that these tablets occupied showed that they had been arranged by topics somewhat as we arrange our books on the shelves of our libraries. They were almost all in a good state of preservation.

Now some one may ask how clay tablets could have been prevented from crumbling. To answer this, you must be told how the books were prepared. In the first place, the scribe secured a small piece of soft clay, free from stones or hard kernels. This he molded or pressed until it attained the form and size of an ordinary cake of toilet soap. Into this piece of clear clay he pressed what appears to have been the corner of a cube, with one of its edges forming, with the surface of the clay, a very sharp angle. The impression made by such a process would be wedge-shaped. These wedges put together in different positions formed signs, and these signs constituted the language on these tablets. Of course, some were larger and some smaller than that here described, but this was about the average size. As soon as the work of writing was finished, the tablet was baked hard to preserve it from crumbling. Even baked bricks cannot withstand the ravages of time. But in the case of

the library found by Smith, some striking observations were made. This great collection of tablets is thought to have occupied the second floor. When fire burned the palace, the cedar beams supporting the second floor were burned away, and the library crashed into the lower apartments. The walls of the palace also fell in and buried the library. In this, as in other mounds of Assyria and Babylonia, the great thick walls of the houses and of the city's fortifications, of unburnt bricks, veneered with a layer of burnt bricks, melted under the action of the elements, flowed in and formed a mass or mound of earth and preserved to our day these invaluable little volumes of a remote antiquity.

In this library Smith discovered some fragments of the famous creation and deluge tablets, about which I shall have something to say in a subsequent chapter. Mr. Smith made two successful expeditions, and while on his way for a third, died of a fever in Aleppo, Syria, August 19, 1876. An account of his work is found in his volume entitled *Assyrian Discoveries.*

34. After the death of Smith, the trustees of the British Museum sent out Rassam, who carried on extensive diggings in the Mesopotamian valley. He employed more than five hundred diggers at one time and on several sites, and brought back to London some of the most valuable inscriptions and other specimens of antiquity that the British Museum owns.

In 1878, France sent a consul by the name of de Sarzec to Bosrah, lower Babylonia. His interest in archæological remains set him to investigating some of the mounds in the vicinity. He soon began work at Tello, in the lower Mesopotamian valley. He was shortly successful in uncovering a palace and discovering a lot of very ancient statues of black diorite, inscribed with a beautiful archaic writing. For about twenty years, at intervals, de Sarzec has brought to light treasures of material from these ruins. These are of especial value as they preserve for us, among others, an account of the career of the great ruler of Lagash, Gudea, who was active in the affairs of this valley about 2800 B. C. They show us a civilization of marvelous proportions and extent. Many of these antiquities are now in the Louvre at Paris, a choice collection, dating from times anterior to Abraham.

35. In 1887 there were found at Tel el-Amarna, in Egypt, about 300 clay tablets, upon which is written mainly the cuneiform language. Since 1887 the University of Pennsylvania has rewarded American beneficence and enterprise and scholarship by her marvelous discoveries at Nippur, in lower Babylonia. Thousands of tablets have been unearthed, and deposited either in the museum at Constantinople or in the University of Pennsylvania. The story of the first two campaigns is admirably told

by Dr. Peters in two luxurious volumes, entitled *Nippur*.

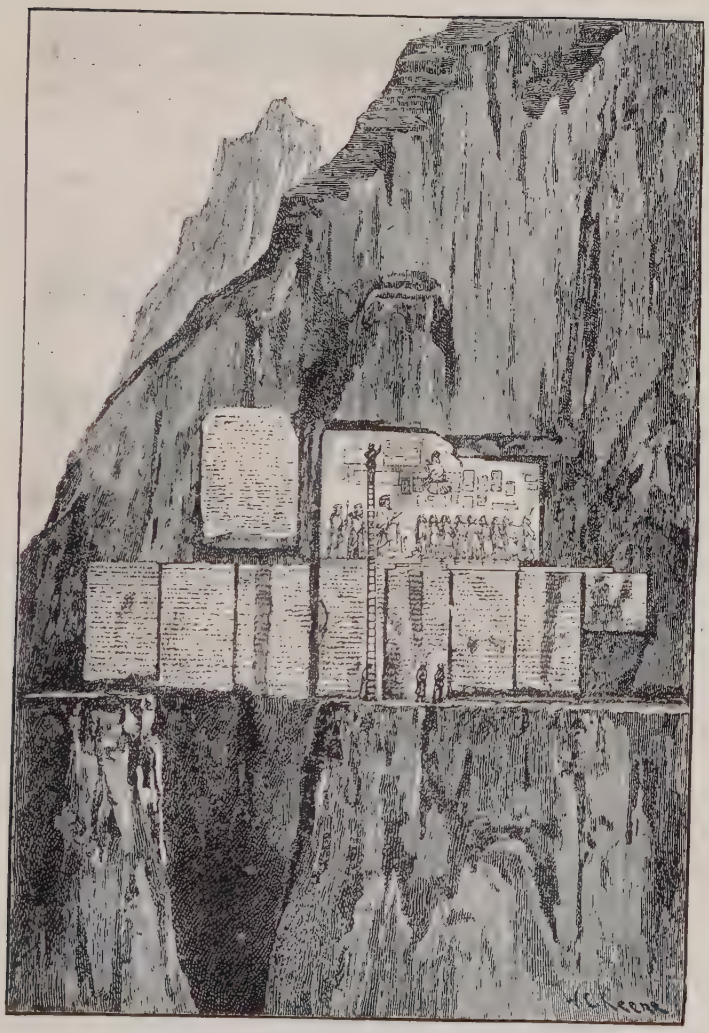
I have thus briefly indicated some of the chief discoveries of the present century on sites in Assyria and Babylonia. The story of the decipherment of these inscriptions I shall reserve for another chapter.

CHAPTER V

CUNEIFORM SECRETS REVEALED

36. The wedge-writing continued for long ages to be an unsolved mystery. The discoveries of Botta and Layard in the mounds at Khorsabad and Nimroud were contemporaneous with another and equally or more remarkable event.

Oriental scholars in Germany, France, Scandinavia, and other countries had set their wits to solve the wedge-language of old Persia. By shrewd guessing only did they arrive at a few results of value. No very substantial progress was made, however, until a young Englishman, an officer in the Persian army, Henry C. Rawlinson, made a discovery in 1835 in the Zagros Mountains. Here he found a limestone mountain rising out of the plain to a height of 1,700 feet. One side of this mass was almost perpendicular in form. About 350 feet above the base on this perpendicular side, Rawlinson could see a large space which had been carefully hewn off and polished. Upon this prepared surface he could also descry a large bas-relief representing a king, before whom stood a long line of captives bound neck to neck with a rope. Adjacent to this great group were several



THE BEHISTUN ROCK
(Henry C. Rawlinson copying the Inscriptions)

columns of cuneiform inscriptions. Rawlinson thought that in ancient times there might have been a scaffolding of some kind, so that the passer-by might reach and read the inscriptions; but at this time they were too high and too inaccessible. Rawlinson's perseverance over slippery and dangerous places finally brought him to the narrow ledge at the foot of the inscriptions. This ledge, about fourteen inches wide, had been made when the large surface had been hewn and smoothed off, and the artistic work done. Rawlinson resolved at once to copy these wonderful columns of inscriptions. The narrowness of the ledge, and the disappearance of a part of it by the ravages of time, and the fearful chasm below him of 350 feet, put him in peril. Some of the inscriptions he could copy from the ledge, for others he climbed a ladder, the foot of which was held on the fourteen-inch ledge by an attendant. But even this perilous task could not be carried out above a space from which the ledge had been worn away. Various schemes were devised and native help employed to accomplish his purpose. For a time he was suspended in a swing in front of the columns of writing. Suffice it to say that only after most painstaking effort and dangerous risks, at intervals during four years, was Rawlinson able to complete the copying of these columns of wedge-writing.

37. As soon as he discovered the probable value of the inscriptions, and that he had not one language

but three in his possession, he set about industriously studying the Sanskrit, Zend, and Pehlevi languages, that thereby he might be the better equipped for his task of translating. Some smaller Persian inscriptions found at Persepolis and other points were also used to advantage. Being familiar with modern Persian, he was also in a peculiar sense ready for his work. As other scholars who had at various times tackled old Persian inscriptions, Rawlinson selected as a basis for investigation the names *Darius, Xerxes,* and *Hystaspes.* These same names occurred on a number of inscriptions, and by ingenious guesses he discovered some of the letters of which the names were constituted. Then by testing the values of these letters in other words the meanings of which were known to him as a modern Persian scholar, Rawlinson succeeded finally in translating the five columns of old Persian cuneiform writing—nearly 400 lines. Ten years after his discovery at Behistun, he sent his translation to Europe. In 1847, the text, translation, and a commentary appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Rawlinson tells us that these inscriptions were cut here by order of Darius I., king of Persia, about 515 B. C. They relate how, while Darius was still occupied in the reformation of the national faith, an insurrection broke out in Susiana; that the rebel ringleader was seized without the employment of any military force; that there was also a revolt in Babylon

HENRY CRESWICKE RAWLINSON
DECIPHERER OF THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTIONS

of such a determined character that Darius was obliged to lead his own troops to put it down. Other valuable historical information is also contained in this old document.

38. On the supposition that the other two inscriptions told the same story, scholars began to attempt to read them. Very soon the second tongue, the Median or Susian, began to yield its secrets. Then the third series of columns, the Babylonian, was forced to give up its hidden treasures. This Behistun group was found to sustain the same relation to the cuneiform languages of Babylonia that the Rosetta stone sustained to the tongues of ancient Egypt. It was the key to its ancient life, people, and government.

But, as in all cases of great advance in any one department, there were doubters and sceptics. To make a final test of scholars' ability to read and interpret these inscriptions, four men, Rawlinson (H. C.), the discoverer and translator of the Old Persian inscription; Hincks (Edw.), an Irishman; Oppert (J.), a Frenchman, still living; Talbot (H. F.), an Englishman, met in London in 1857. The trustees of the British Museum gave each a fine lithographic copy of a long historical inscription, and asked that he work independently and present at a specified time the results of his work. At the given date all appeared and compared results. To the great surprise and profound satisfaction of everyone, their translations agreed substantially from beginning to end. The

triumph was almost incredible; the victory was complete. This new philological solution was the greatest achievement ever made in the field of language or archæology. It was as great a discovery in the field of history and philology as the telegraph in the commercial world.

39. Is this an extravagant statement? But think a moment. There lay the supposed old civilizations of the Mesopotamian valley buried out of the sight of man for thousands of years. Its former inhabitants were unknown. Its mighty empires were apparently blotted from the pages of history. Its relations with outside nations were known only through hints here and there. In fact, it was only a shadow, with the Old Testament alone to point to a possible greatness. But what now? This achievement in the translation of the cuneiform inscriptions gives us at one stroke a whole valley full of thrifty cities, well-organized governments, conquering armies and world-wide rulers. They are all made to step out upon the stage and play their most important rôle in the drama of ancient nations. Henceforth the Mesopotamian valley becomes one of the most dramatic sections of the earth's surface, in which the fortunes of the nations of the known world were made or lost.

40. Scholars who read this magical tongue are now found in nearly every enlightened country, and special chairs for it have been established both in European and in American universities, where a vast

amount of investigation is carried on in several important branches of the science. These men, however, especially in American universities, are so overloaded with work in more practical lines that they can do a very small part for the advancement of this all-important science. What is needed in America especially for this work is an investigation endowment, which will provide means for the support of men who are willing to do this unremunerative and yet essential line of work.

41. The language in which the mass of material discovered in the Mesopotamian valley is preserved is the Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform, or wedge-writing. This language is not alphabetical. It has no letters. It is a sign and syllable language. Each separate wedge or combination of wedges constitutes a sign. These are always pressed into clay, and cut into stone or metal. They never appear in relief. These signs possessed originally, and some of them did in later times, merely an ideographic value; that is, the sign stood for an idea, as, sun, mountain, man, fish, etc. They also possess, most of them, a syllable value, as *ba, da, ra, lak, pin, rid, shad*, etc. A large number of these signs possess several syllabic values, one or two of them having as many as thirteen. The context only is the determinator of the value to be used in any given case. Then, to complicate matters still more, the same sign may have both ideographic and syllabic values. Which is to be used in any given case

can be decided only by the context in which the sign is found. Of independent and entirely distinct signs there are more than 550, formed by combinations of anywhere from two to thirty wedges, paralleled, crossing each other at various angles, or inserted within certain combinations. Now, to increase the difficulty a thousandfold, there are almost endless combinations of anywhere from two to six of these different signs to express both simple and compound ideas. There is one published collection that contains nearly 15,000 combinations. This Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform language is Semitic in character, a half-sister to the Hebrew of the Old Testament. Its relation to the Hebrew is about as close as that between Italian and Spanish.

42. The discoveries of the past half-century have brought to light great masses of cuneiform literature, clay-brick and clay-tablet volumes. We possess today in published form more than six times as much literature as is contained in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. The British Museum alone has published 440 folio and 650 quarto pages, and there is one-half as much more in private and archæological publications. Not one-quarter of all the inscriptions discovered has been published. The British Museum alone has more than 30,000 tablets awaiting the patient toil of the cuneiform expert. The period of time covered by these documents is no less surprising than their scope. They occur from prehistoric times,

or before 5,000 B. C., down through a sweep of time covering periods anterior to, contemporaneous with, and subsequent to the Old Testament. In fact, documents in the cuneiform character have been found dating from the first century before the Christian era.

43. What kind of material is contained in this mass of literature, which prevailed through so many centuries?

(1) The most beautiful and elaborate inscriptions are those which in a rough classification may be termed historical. They picture with great vividness the lordship of his majesty the king, the magnitude of his military campaigns, the glory of his conquests, the scope of his territory, and the cruel means by which he kept his subjects in submission. For the study of the Old Testament these inscriptions, or this new knowledge, is invaluable. For example, Shalmaneser II (860-25 B. C.) mentions in his records the names of Ahab, Jehu, and Omri. Tiglathpileser III (745-727 B. C.) names Menahem, Pekah, and Hoshea of Israel, and Azariah and Ahaz of Judah—five kings of Israel and Judah. The captivities of the children of Israel are now new stories on a new and definite background. Again, the later Babylonian empire, captured by Cyrus, is now relieved of its burdens of tradition with which Berosus and Herodotus had loaded it down. Cyrus now tells us his own story, and his captive king, Nabonidus, also leaves us his version of the same wonderful campaign. In short,

these historical cuneiform inscriptions have painted for us an entirely new background for the historical and prophetical books of the Old Testament, which recount events in Israel's history during the last two centuries of its kingdom.

(2) One of the most tangled-up questions of the Old Testament is that of its chronology. We are doubtless aware that the marginal dates of our Bibles were arranged by Archbishop Ussher of Armagh (1580-1656). It is conceded by all scholars that this system, though carefully wrought out, and as good as could be constructed at that day, is now fraught with insurmountable difficulties. No way is seen out of this jungle. But in this age of startling discoveries, we must not despair. This cuneiform literature preserves for us long lists of officials and kings, extending through centuries, which promise to aid us in getting rid of this chronological snarl into which Ussher has put the Old Testament. Let us hold the chronological problem in abeyance for larger and more definite information, stretching over greater periods of time.

(3) Babylonia-Assyria, as most oriental peoples, had some stupendous stories about the origin and early history of mankind. The literature embodying these stories is quite abundant and exceedingly important. We find here accounts or figures of the creation of the world, of the temptation, and of the deluge. Their early heroes were extremely active, and played an essential rôle in these tragical events. The impor-

tance of these legends is based on the fact of their close resemblance to the early chapters of Genesis.

(4) Many cities and places mentioned in the Old Testament were lost, or were so indefinitely described that their existence even was doubted. But our new cuneiform literature presents us long lists of countries, cities, and towns in such order as to aid us materially in locating some of those lost ones. The lists give us a kind of word-map of ancient Babylonian geography, including therein some of its subject peoples. We can now point out, for instance, the site of Nineveh, one of the places to which the kingdom of Israel was carried captive, the seat of Sargon's great palace at Khorsabad, and locations of other smaller places. These facts help us to localize many of the events of the Old Testament which have hitherto been practically suspended in mid-air.

(5) The social life of a nation is often best preserved in its commercial transactions. Babylonian excavations have brought to light large numbers of contracts between parties engaged in commercial pursuits, such as bankers, merchants, land-holders, money-lenders, etc. These documents tell us what kind of masters Judah and Israel were compelled to serve. They are shown to have been an active, thrifty, wealthy people, who made Babylon long ages ago one of the great trading marts of the oriental world.

(6) No discovery of the past quarter-century has

fired enthusiasm in oriental research more than the bringing to light in 1887, in Tel el-Amarna in Egypt, of those 300 letters which proved to be international letters or dispatches, dating principally from about 1,500 B. C.; that is, while Israel was still sojourning in Egypt. They were letters to two kings of Egypt from different kings and officials in Asiatic countries. They speak of political conditions, of social relations, of exchange of gifts, slaves, and proposals of various kinds, such as were made between different nations and subject nations. Their importance can be perceived when we think that they give us some of the real international life of Western Asia and Egypt before a single word of the Old Testament was written.

(7) There are many other kinds of literature in these magical writings which I can barely mention. We find documents, not scientific treatises, on grammar, philology, ethnography, religion, geology, zoölogy, and botany. But for our purpose these possess little value. They reveal to us, however, the fact that previous to, contemporaneous with, and subsequent to Israel's career a tremendous influence and power were at work in Babylonia, and its subject peoples. Those things profoundly affected Israel and gave color to many phases of her life.

CHAPTER VI

GLINTS FROM PALESTINE, PHŒNICIA, AND THE HITTITES

44. The land that to-day attracts the largest attention among Bible students is Palestine. Occupying a territory of about 12,000 square miles, it still stands as the center, as the scene of the most important events in the world's history. From the first altar built by Abram (Genesis xiii.) down to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, its mountains and valleys, its rocks and ravines, echoed and re-echoed with shouts of warriors, with cries of grief, with calls of the shepherd, and with the weighty utterances of the Savior of the world. Century after century, travelers have recorded for us the customs and topography of this little land. But never until 1865 was an organization formed for systematic and scientific research in those holy fields. The first committee organized included such names as the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Shaftsbury, Mr. A. H. Layard, Dean Stanley, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and Canon H. B. Tristram. After a preliminary examination this company began active operations in 1867 on the site of Jerusalem, where it continued until 1870. In the same year Clermont-

Ganneau, a French archæologist in the employ of the company, discovered an inscribed stone which had belonged to Herod's temple. In the same year (1870) the survey of Sinai was conducted by Major H. S. Palmer and Captain Wilson, and in 1871 Prof. E. H. Palmer made his perilous journey through the wilderness.

45. The Great Survey of Western Palestine was begun in 1872. After seven years of incessant, and often dangerous, labor, and several changes in the personnel of leaders, the work was completed. In 1880 the great map of western Palestine was published (on which each square mile is represented by one inch) in twenty-six sheets. The results of the entire survey are now available in seven magnificent volumes, which deal with all the characteristics of natural history and topography. One of the chief results to us of this great survey is the identification of Scripture sites. There are in the Bible 622 names of places, supposed to have been located west of the Jordan. Of these, 360 could not be identified; but this survey party has now proposed identifications for 172 of these 360 localities.

46. In 1881 Lieutenant Conder began the survey of eastern Palestine, but the Turks compelled his retirement. In 1883 a geological expedition left England under Prof. Edward Hull of the Geological Survey of Ireland. In 1885 and since that time large tracts of

country in northern Palestine, in Bashan, and in the Argob have been explored under the direction of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The results of these various expeditions have been issued in a number of valuable publications. Quarterly statements, bringing the information up to date, are issued for the benefit of Palestinian students and scholars in every land.

47. But the key to the Holy Land is found on the summits covered by the modern city Jerusalem. No oriental or occidental city has been subjected to such national vicissitudes for thirty-five centuries of time. The storms of battle through all these years have repeatedly raged about her walls, often visiting upon her the direst results of plunder and desolation. From 1867 to 1870 Lieutenant Warren sunk scores of shafts down through the ages of accumulated rubbish, always to bed-rock. Wherever the diggers came upon artificial structures, such as arches, aqueducts, cisterns, or other works, they were carefully explored and measured, and a plan sketched to a scale. The results of these years of work have been embodied in a beautiful survey memoir, entitled *Jerusalem*. Since that date, this city has been the chief object of exploration in Palestine. The latest explorations of F. J. Bliss on this site, under the direction of the Fund, in the years 1894-97, yielded many results, such as the revealing of old wall-lines, mosaic chambers, aqueducts,

pavements, and pottery of various periods. These results are recited in a new volume, entitled *Excavations at Jerusalem* (1894-97), by Bliss and Dickie.

One point only in Palestine outside of Jerusalem has been systematically explored, that is Lachish, or Tell el-Hesy. In 1890 Mr. Petrie began to turn over the hillocks of this mass of ruins. He found numerous remains of pottery and old buildings of times prior to, and of, Roman times. A little later Dr. Bliss continued the work, and laid bare several successive cities, and published a detailed description of his excavations in *A Mound of Many Cities.*

One of the most interesting finds in Palestine is that of the Mâdaba map. It was discovered and identified December 13, 1896, by Cleopas M. Koikylides, at the site of ancient Medeba, about eleven caravan hours from Jericho, in ancient Moabitish territory. It was in the ruins of an old basilica, upon which the Greeks built a new church for their members resident in the town. In constructing this building they destroyed large parts of the map, and covered some of it with cement for a new pavement. The original mosaic is thought to have covered 280 square meters, but the fragments now remaining contain only eighteen square meters. Its remains now show parts of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. It is thought from internal evidence to have been made between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the fifth centuries.

THE JORDAN JERUSALEM THE DEAD SEA THE NILE DELTA

THE MOSAIC MAP OF MADABA

48. The thrifty cities of Tyre and Sidon hold a large place in the Old Testament. Though the Phœnicians occupied just a narrow strip of territory between the range of the Lebanon Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea, no other people exerted so potent an influence on Israel in the period of the dual kingdom. From prehistoric times they figure as pioneers and leaders in the maritime and land commerce of all the world. From 1800 to 1500 B. C. the Mediterranean Sea was dotted with the sails of Phœnician ships. Their merchants called at all the ports of the Mediterranean Sea and adjoining waters. Their mines and merchants were found in every land. The Old Testament is replete with statements of the commercial importance of this people. In the days of David and Solomon they were the chief artisans for the preparation and for the construction of the royal residences and the temple. Their products, cedar and stone, were exchanged for the cereals and other products of the Israelites. This commercial intimacy introduced them very thoroughly to each other, and they most naturally exchanged many customs and manners. But the most fatal result to Israel was the introduction and promulgation of Baal worship among the hills of Palestine. The repugnance which this system of religion arouses in the reader of the Old Testament is equaled only by the horrible rites which accompanied it. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, the picture was a blood-curdling one,

and to many readers incredible without some external testimony.

49. The discoveries of remains in this strip of territory have been slight as compared with those made in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. Some ruins, however, have been described with great detail. In 1860 the Emperor of France sent Renan, the noted French writer, to explore Syria and Phœnicia. One remarkable temple ruin was discovered at Marathus on the coast of Phœnicia. It was a grand plan cut into the solid rock, 192 feet long by 160 feet broad. In the middle of this area was left a portion of the natural rock, 20 feet square by 10 feet high. On the top of this cubical mass had been built, of separate stones, a small shrine 15 feet by 12 feet and 14 feet high. The walls were made of three layers of hewn stone, and the roof of a single block. The only external ornament is a fillet and cornice on the four sides of the roof. No steps or stairs lead up into this chamber, and it is difficult to understand how it was entered. It is supposed that it originally contained an image of a deity before whom worshipers in the court below prostrated themselves. Two similar shrines were discovered by Renan in the same neighborhood—indicating the importance attached to this species of worship by the Phœnicians.

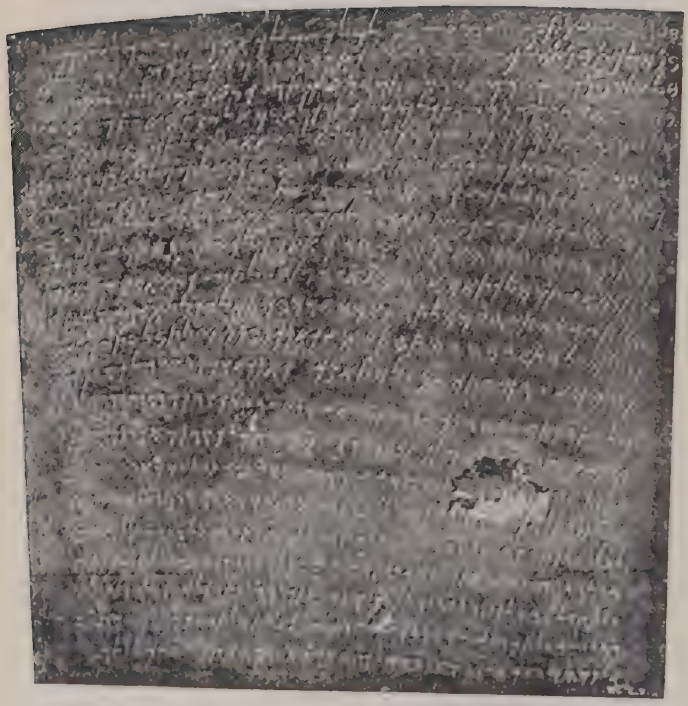
The best artisans employed by Solomon in the construction of the temple at Jerusalem were Phœnicians. In the substructure of the temple it

is found that the stones resting upon the native bedrock have in some instances a length of thirty-nine feet and a depth of seven feet, while the courses for a considerable height are formed of blocks almost equally massive. Excavations at Gebcil and Tortosa, in Phœnicia, have shown walls composed of stones of almost exactly the same character. But the most notable temple yet discovered was at Paphos, in Cyprus. General di Cesnola deserves the honor of finding and describing it. The ruins reveal a double peribolus, both oblong squares, the larger 700 feet by 630 feet, the smaller or inner 224 by 165 feet. Both are built of the usual colossal stones, some of which measure 16 feet by 8 feet, and are not to be found in that country, but were imported either from Egypt or Cilicia.

50. The walls of cities were built of the same massive stone as those found in temple foundations. In some cases the stones were beveled, but in others they were simply squared blocks of immense size, set upon one another in regular courses. The most striking remains of this character are those of the Island of Aradus. Renan says: "The extraordinary wall which surrounded the whole island served both for a defense against the enemy and against the waves. It was composed of quadrangular prisms nine feet three inches high and from thirteen to sixteen feet long, without mortar or cement. They were brought from a neighboring quarry on the island. I do not think

that there is anywhere else in the whole world a ruin that is more imposing or of a more marked character." The next species of discovery to which I desire to call attention is that of the tombs. One of the so-called twin tombs, *Mêghâzils*, which stand behind Aradus, near the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, is, says Renan, "a real masterpiece in respect of proportion, elegance and majesty." It has a basement story, circular, and flanked by four lions; a second story cylindrical in form, and a third of smaller dimensions crowned with a half-sphere. The whole, except the basement story, which consists of four blocks, is cut out of a single stone. The entire monument is thirty-two feet in height. But of most interest is the fact that it stands over a tomb chamber—built probably for some king or notable personage. The entrance to this chamber was at a little distance from the monument. Fifteen steps led down to a passage twenty-five feet long, opening into a chamber twenty feet by twenty by nine. At the farther end were two long chambers, each containing niches for four coffins or sarcophagi—all cut in the solid rock. Though without date, these tombs are traced to a very early period.

51. Another species of remains is of still greater interest. On the Isle of Cyprus, especially, a great number of small and large images of Baal and Astarte have been found. The character of these symbols tells the tale of Israel's rapid defection. They are the symbols of the most degrading forms of idolatry, and



A PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTION
(From the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar II, king of the Zidonians about 400 B. C.)

are designed to lead their devotees to an abandoned life. The mistranslated word *"groves"* in the Old Testament is descriptive of this species of worship, which was so often carried on under the shades of trees, and by its deeds of wickedness brought upon Israel its doom of destruction.

52. The commercial and social influence of the Phœnicians gave added strength to their beliefs and worship. Wherever they established colonies, or built cities, or carried on trading posts, they left the impress of their national characteristics, especially that of their religion. The decipherment of Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions has also set before us many of the most stirring events and crises in their political history. Their relations to Assyria and Babylon are vividly described in some of the triumphal and annalistic records of the latter. Egypt's dependence upon this maritime commercial people is also a bright ray of light out of a dark period. While the immediate discoveries of tombs, temples, and literature of ancient Phœnicia have been few, these, together with the revelations in the records of her neighbors, are enough to win a glad welcome from every student of the ancient past.

53. The Hittites are often mentioned in the Old Testament. Otherwise they were a forgotten people until the second half of the nineteenth century. The lack of extra-biblical testimony to their existence led some scholars about a half-century ago to deny

their historicity. They scoffed at the idea of Israel allying herself with such an unhistorical people as the Hittites, as narrated in 2 Kings vii. 6. But those utterances have vanished into thin air. The Hittites were as real a people and power as any that reigned in Asia. Their supremacy in Asia Minor and northern Syria was contemporaneous with the reign of Rameses II in Egypt. Their power was matched with the great army of that Pharaoh, with whom they signed a remarkable treaty. They continued as a powerful factor in the affairs of Asia Minor until the downfall of their capital, Carchemish, before the arms of Sargon II, in 717 B. C.

54. Their mention in the Old Testament begins very early. "The children of Heth" occupied a portion of southern Palestine in Abraham's day. It was from Ephron the Hittite that Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah (Gen. xxiii.). Esau took to wife Judith, the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Bashemath, the daughter of Elon the Hittite (Gen. xxxvi. 34). These Hittites in Palestine were probably no more than a small settlement of the great empire whose headquarters were in the north-country. They are named among the seven nations who occupied the land of Canaan at its conquest by Joshua. Occasionally one appears in subsequent days, such as Uriah, the Hittite of David's warriors. The evident reference in 1 Kings x. 29 and in 2 Kings vii. 6 is

to the great people in the north, whose armies were to be feared for their valor and cruelty.

55. The Egyptian and Assyrian monuments picture to us a powerful nation, able in the time of Rameses II to cope with Egypt, or with any other world-power. They are described both in the language and in the portraiture of the Egyptians. Their origin is unknown, and their first appearance as an influential people began about the fourteenth century B. C. From that time they formed one of the great nations —"the congress of nations"—for nearly seven centuries, though their military power was not always of equal merit. We know from the material supplied by these two peoples that the Hittites were not a mythical, an unhistorical race of that far-off day, at whatever period the biblical narrative may have been composed.

56. More than this, we have a quantity of Hittite antiquities, carved on the sides of mountains, on rock sides of mountain passes, on ruins of Hittite buildings of various kinds, in southern Asia Minor and northern Syria. These remains consist of reliefs of personages or deities, of animals, or of ritualistic observances of different kinds, and of quite a sum of inscriptions, written in strange hieroglyphic characters. These antiquities tell us by their general character that their makers were a people who had reached a considerable stage in civilization. Their religion and art, as told by these outlines, were not equal to

those of Egypt or of the East. There is a crudeness in their representations and in their written language which locates them lower in the scale of culture than the Egyptians and Assyrians. But the greatest hindrance to our knowledge of the Hittites is the fact that their inscriptions are not as yet successfully deciphered. Numerous attempts have been made to read the language, but the lack of a key, such as the Rosetta stone was for the Egyptian or the Behistun inscription for the cuneiform languages, baffles the investigator. When these stories of themselves shall have been read, we shall know at first hand how they recorded their own annals, their own thoughts, and how they regarded their divinities, and their neighbors. In the meantime we shall regard them as a mighty people—a compact nation, who occupied a distinct place in ancient times.

57. In the years 1884-86 a French engineer by the name of Dieulafoy carried on excavations under the auspices of the Louvre Museum, Paris, at Susa, or the Shushan of the book of Esther. After some startling experiences he finally succeeded in bringing to light the palace of Artaxerxes II, together with a marvelous quantity of interesting antiquities. These included bas-reliefs, friezes, statues, inscriptions, and in fact almost everything which made up the beauty and magnificence of a Persian palace in the most prosperous period of the empire. Up to the present we are not aware of the full significance of these finds,

because their treasures are not all accessible to the scholarships of the world. But it is hoped that a more careful study of these forty-six tons of antiquities may add materially to our knowledge of the events and customs of the reign of the great Persian kings.

58. Discoveries of more or less significance for the Old Testament have been made also in Arabia from 1888 to 1891, where Dr. Glaser, a German, found Arabic inscriptions dating, as he claims, from the times of the reign of Solomon. The Germans have also opened a productive mound in Syria, at a place called Senjirli, whence they took out Aramaic and Assyrian inscriptions dating at the close of the eighth and beginning of the seventh century B. C.

This brief sketch of some of the minor discoveries of recent years must suffice for the present. We must now turn our attention to a study of the most notable light that these excavations yield to the understanding of the Old Testament.

CHAPTER VII

PRIMITIVE TRADITIONS AND GENESIS

59. Almost all of the great nations of antiquity have preserved legends or traditions of the creation of the world, of the origin of man, of the fall, and of the deluge. These traditions vary greatly in value. Some of them are not worthy of mention, while others are so startling in their resemblances to the accounts in Genesis as to demand careful consideration. Of all the traditions found to-day in the documents of the old nations, those embodied in the cuneiform language of Babylonia-Assyria are by far the most interesting and important. In the consideration of these traditions, the order of events narrated in Genesis will be followed. It will be practically impossible to present in full the Babylonian cosmogony, but its general representation of the beginnings of things will be seen from the appended specimens of translations.

60. The history of the finding of the creation tablets of Assyria is full of romantic interest, but we can notice here only its translation. It is supposed to have consisted originally of seven tablets. The following is the only remaining fragment of the first (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*, 3d ed., p. 93):

There was a time when, what is overhead, was not called heaven,
What is beneath, was not yet called earth. —
The abyss, the ancient, their progenitor,
The mother *Tiamat*, was the bearer of them all.
Their waters were all together in one place [= unscattered].
The fields were not prepared, the moor was not to be seen.
At that time none of the gods had appeared,
Neither was any one's name implored, nor was any destiny fixed.
[Then] the gods were created . . . .
Lachmu and *Lachamu* issued forth,
Ages elapsed . . . . . *An-shar* (and) *Ki-shar* were created.
A long time elapsed . . . .
[Ere] the god *Anu*, [Bel and Ea were born.]
An-shar and *Ki-*[*shar* . . . . .]

In brief, the interpretation of this fragmentary inscription is that early, even before the beginning of things, except the abyss or chaos, the gods first appeared. *Lachmu* and *Lachamu* produce the heavens above (*An-shar*), and the earth beneath (*Ki-shar*). After a lapse of time these two bodies produce the three great gods of the Babylonian pantheon, *Anu*, ruler of the sky, *Bel*, ruler of the earth, and *Ea*, ruler of the sea. What we possess of the fourth tablet describes the victory of Merodach over *Tiamat*, or the goddess of chaos, and all her host of allies. This is the formal defeat of chaos and the victory of order. Merodach constructed the heavens out of the skin of *Tiamat*, and Anu, Bel and Ea occupied it as their abode. The fifth tablet describes in a beautiful manner the furnishing of the heavenly mansions (Del., *A. L.*, p. 94):

He [*Merodach*] prepared the stations of the great gods;
The stars resembling them, and the *lumashi* he fixed;
He fixed the year, and set its boundaries.
The twelve months he divided by three stars.

The sixth tablet has not been as yet discovered. The seventh tablet, very fragmentary in form, describes the following events (Del., *A. L.*, pp. 94, 95):

At that time the gods in their assembly created . . . . ;
They prepared the mighty . . . . . ;
They created the living creatures,
The cattle of the field, the [wild] beasts of the field, and creeping things;
[They prepared dwelling places] for the living creatures;
They distributed the creeping things of the field, the creeping things of the city.
. . . . . the creeping things, the sum of all creation.
. . . . . .

Though fragmentary to an aggravation, there are some significant words and expressions as to the origin of animal life.

61. A few years ago, Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, discovered another queer record of creation. I append a few lines of the translation:

The glorious house, the house of the gods, in a glorious place had not been built;
A reed had not been planted, a tree had not grown;
A brick had not been laid, a beam had not been shaped;
A house had not been built, a city had not been founded.
Niffer had not been built, E-kura had not been constructed;
Erech had not been built, E-ana had not been constructed;
The ocean had not been formed, Eridu had not been built.
(As for) the glorious house, the house of the gods, its frame had not been raised.

The world was all one sea;
When at length within the sea there was a movement,
Eridu was built, E-sagila was constructed,
E-sagila in the midst of the ocean,
Where the god Lugal-du-azaga dwells.
Babylon was built, E-sagila was completed.
The gods, the Anunnaki, he created at the same time; and the glorious city, the seat dear to their heart he made supreme.
Merodach built an inclosure around the waters; he formed dust, and piled it up against the sides of the inclosure, to make a dwelling for the gods dear to their heart.
He created mankind.
The goddess Aruru, together with him, created the seed of mankind.
The beasts of the field, the living creatures of the plain he created.
He formed and set in their place the Tigris and Euphrates, and proclaimed their good names.
The *ussu*-plant, the marsh-plant and the reed, and the forest he planted;
He made the verdure of the plain;
The lands, the marshes, and the reeds also;
The wild cow and her calf; the young wild ox; the ewe and her lamb, the lamb of the fold;
Grazing-plains and forests also;
The goat and mountain-goat he also made.
Then Merodach made a terrace by the sea-shore,
. . . . . as he had not done before,
. . . . . he caused to be,
. . . . . he made the tree,
. . . . . he set in their place,
. . . . . he built cities,
. . . . . dwellings he erected.

This is a wonderful story or tradition of the beginning of things. The writer strives through the first

part of it to convey the idea of nothingness, of a time when nothing existed. When he has exhausted his resources in this direction he turns about and describes in the same manner positively the order of creation. This story reads almost like an expansion of the Genesis record with a Babylonian coloring.

62. Before passing on to other features of Babylonian tradition, let us look at some of the resemblances and differences between Genesis and these records:

(1) Genesis knows of a time when the earth was waste and void. The Babylonian accounts mention a time when all was chaos.

(2) In Genesis light dispels darkness, and order follows chaos. In the Babylonian records the god Merodach routs and overthrows the demon of chaos, *Tiamat.*

(3) In Genesis, after a time, the dry land appears. In the Babylonian account, Merodach created the dust and poured it out.

(4) In Genesis, the stars, sun and moon are set in the heavens. In the Babylonian, Merodach places these as the mansions of the gods.

(5) In Genesis, God created the animals and creeping things. In the Babylonian, the assembly of the gods created animals and living creatures.

(6) In Genesis, God created mankind. In the Babylonian, Merodach creates mankind.

Here are, then, six prominent similarities between

the two records. They are, of course, not identical, but if other portions of this Babylonian account had been omitted, these lines would read almost like a copy of the Genesis record.

63. But the unlikenesses, though not so numerous as the former, are extremely significant:

(1) Genesis mentions God as the Creator of all things. The Babylonian record mentions no one as creator of all things, but various gods come in for their share in the beginnings.

(2) Genesis describes a waste and an abyss. The Babylonian account personifies these words (*Tohu* and *Tiamat*) as warriors.

(3) Genesis is pervaded with monotheism, while the Babylonian account is shot through with polytheism.

How can we account for so few unlikenesses? Did the writer of the Genesis record borrow his account from the Babylonian tablets? or did the Babylonian record have its origin in the Genesis account? or did both derive their story from a common original source? These questions will receive attention at the close of this chapter.

64. The next Old Testament institution paralleled on the monuments is the rest-day, the Sabbath. "God rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made, and God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because in it he rested from all his work which God had creatively made" (Gen. ii. 3). The Babylonian sabbath was called "the day of the rest of

the heart." It was not a day of rest for man, but a day on which the gods ceased from their anger, or a day when their anger could be appeased. We possess a religious calendar for two months, the intercalary month Elul and Marcheshvan, in which we find special duties enjoined. The seventh, fourteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth days are described as "favorable day, evil day," and the remainder of the days as "favorable days." For each day certain measures are prescribed, and on the "favorable-unfavorable" days, certain precautions were to be observed. The king, as one standing nearer the gods than his people, and whose conduct affects his people, is enjoined during the specified five days, not to eat meat roasted on the coals, nor anything that has touched fire; not to array himself in royal robes, nor to offer sacrifices. He was not to mount his chariot, nor to sit in state, nor to enter the sacred dwelling of the gods. No physician was to be called in to serve at the sick bed; nor was a curse to be invoked on his enemies. The characteristics of the two sabbaths are: The Babylonian sabbath was so observed by the king, the representative of his people, as not to stir up the jealousy or anger of the gods; on the Hebrew sabbath, God rested, and man is likewise to rest from his ordinary labors.

65. The Babylonians reckoned their time according to the movements of the moon, and this, of course, divided their lunar month into four weeks of seven

days each, corresponding to the four quarters of the moon. The days also were named after the seven planetary deities. This number seven seems to have been held in especial reverence by the Babylonians, possibly because of their high regard for the seven planets which had been noted by astronomers from ancient times. The old Babylonian hymns consecrate the number seven in various ways. "Seven is the number of spirits whose origin is in the depths, who know neither order nor custom, nor listen to prayers and desires. Seven and twice seven is the knot to be tied by the woman who sits by the bedside of her sick husband and conjures the evil spirits." The mythical serpent in the hymns has seven heads, and the gates to the underworld are seven—all testifying to the general use and sacredness of the number seven in those primitive times.

66. The vexed question of the location of the Garden of Eden is not solved by the inscriptions of Babylonia. They make frequent mention of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and, among a list of irrigating canals of that great valley, Prof. Delitzsch has found two by the names of *Guhâna* and *Pisânu*, answering to the requirements of the narrative (Gen. ii. 10-14) in the Old Testament. Whether this theory is true or not, it is practically agreed among Assyriologists, whose study of this valley has been most thorough, that Eden was located in primitive times somewhere within easy reach of the Persian Gulf, possibly at its head.

The inscriptions tell us of a primitive sacred garden, in which there was a tree of life. This tree is seen frequently on the seals of prominent personages of Babylon. It also appears among the alabaster reliefs found on the wainscoting of the royal palaces. Approach to it seems to have been limited to the gods or to distinguished persons. Its fruits also contained qualities capable of granting and maintaining life perpetually.

67. The cherubim, so frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, are possibly akin in some way to the winged bulls and lions found so abundantly at the entrances of palaces and temples in Babylonia, though the exact identification therewith is in doubt. Their purpose was nearly one. Ezekiel (chap. i. 10 and x. 14) compares the face of the cherub with that of a bull. His complicated figure in the first chapter of his prophecy carries it in the different elements of these colossi, when he describes the four faces as those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. Ezekiel's presence in Babylonia doubtless made him very familiar with these stupendous guards, and caused him to regard them as his best symbols of majesty and power. The cherubim of the tabernacle were set as protectors of the ark of the covenant, of the majesty of Jehovah's presence. The Babylonian and Assyrian colossi, the bulls and lions, were set as guards to royal palaces, to protect the majesty of the rulers' abodes. Just what the cherubim who guarded the entrance to Eden were, we cannot tell. But the similarity in name and

A DELUGE TABLET

in office suggests some relation in thought between the guards at Eden's entrance and the great doorways to the magnificent palaces of Babylonia-Assyria.

68. The inscriptions nowhere describe in words the fall of man. This strange event is, however, supposed to be implied in a remarkable seal cylinder of a very primitive date. This cylinder carries on its surface a peculiar group of figures. In the center of this group stands a tree, from which there hangs fruit. On one side of this tree sits a man, and on the other, a woman. Behind the woman, with its head near hers, is the crooked, crawling form of a serpent. Not one word is recorded on the seal. The group alone tells the story. Most scholars suppose that this is a figurative representation of some tradition of the fall of man which was current among the peoples of old Babylonia.

69. Of all the traditions handed down to us through the cuneiform inscriptions, the most extensive and complete discovered thus far is the Babylonian account of the deluge. A record of this event is found in the works of Josephus and Eusebius, but in all of its details and vigor, the Babylonian account stands pre-eminently next to the biblical record. This narrative is found on the eleventh tablet of the great *Gilgamesh* epic, first discovered and translated by George Smith of the British Museum in 1872. Since that date several editions of its text have appeared, and also a large number of translations by scholars in

different countries. This tablet contains 185 lines, some of which are irrecoverably broken. The story which leads to the recital of the deluge is full of mythological interest. But we can give simply some of the main facts. Gilgamesh, who is afflicted with a dread disease, desires to consult his ancestor, *Pir-napishtim*, who dwelt far away, in an immortal state. After one month and fifteen days' sail on the waters of death, he reached that far-off land, and met his ancestor, and prayed for his aid and advice. He also asked him (Pir-napishtim) "how he happened to be removed alive to the assembly of the gods." His great ancestor's reply is found on this eleventh tablet, together with advice as to how Gilgamesh could be restored to health.

I shall give below only some of the most notable parts of the translation (IV Rawl. 43):

70. Col. I.:

Gilgamesh spake to him, to Pir-napishtim the remote:
"I look on thee, Pir-napishtim;
Thy appearance is not changed, as I am, so art thou,
And thou art not changed, as I am, so art thou.
. . . . . .
Tell me (how it happened) that thou hast obtained life in the assembly of the gods, which thou didst covet?"
Pir-napishtim said to him, to Gilgamesh:
"I will reveal to thee, Gilgamesh, the secret,
And the oracle of the gods will I tell thee;
The city of Shurippak, the city, thou knowest, which lies on the bank of the river Euphrates,
This city was old, when the gods within decided to bring a deluge, even the great gods,

. . . . their father *Anu*, their counselor, the hero *Bel*,
their leader *Adar*, their chief the god *Ennu-gi*,
The god of wisdom, *Ea*, argued with them.
Their decision he announced to the Reed-house: 'Reed-
house, reed-house, wall, wall! Reed-house, hear!
Wall, understand!
Man of Shurippak, son of *Ubara-Tutu*,
Build a house, construct a ship, forsake thy possessions,
take heed for thy life!
Leave behind thy property; save (thy) life.
Bring the seed of life of every kind into the ship;
The ship that thou shalt build, let her measurements
be well proportioned,
Her width and her depth shall (be of good proportions).
Then launch her.'
Then I understood and spake to *Ea*, my lord:
' . . . . . what thou didst command will
I observe, and I will do it.'"

. . . . . .
On the following morning at daybreak I . . . . . .
The light I feared;
. . . . . all that was necessary I collected;
On the fifth day I drew its design.

71. Col. II.:

The lines which describe the building of the ship are badly broken. While the work was progressing he held a great religious festival for the gods. At its completion he began to load the ship for the destructive flood announced by the assembly of the gods.

With everything that I had, I filled it;
With everything that I had of silver, I filled it;
With everything that I had of gold, I filled it;
With everything that I had of the seed of life, I filled it.
I embarked with my whole family, my servants,

The cattle of the field, the beasts of the field, and the workmen, all of them I embarked.
Shamash set a time limit (a sign):
"When the rulers of darkness at evening time send a destructive rain,
Then enter the ship, and close the ship (thy door).
His time limit was reached, and
The rulers of darkness at evening time sent a destructive rain.
At the break of day, I trembled.
I feared to see the day.
I entered the ship and I closed my door.
The guidance of the ship I gave to *Buzur-Kur-gal*, the sailor,
The great structure, together with its contents.

72. Col. III.:

Then the violence of the storm is described in terrific terms:

Like as an onslaught in battle, it fell upon the people,
. . . . . .
Even in heaven the gods feared the deluge;
They withdrew, went up to the heaven of god *Anu*.
There the gods crouched down like dogs, on the enclosing walls they sat down.
. . . . . .
Six days and nights
The wind blew, the deluge and storm beat the land.
At the dawn of the seventh day, the rain, the flood ceased,
The storm which had battled like an army ceased,
The waters of the abyss sank back, the great storm, the deluge came to an end.
I looked out over the sea, crying aloud,
But all mankind had turned to earth (again).
In place of habitations, everything had become a marsh
I opened an air-hole, and light fell upon my face.
I sank back, and sat down, I wept.

My tears flowed down my cheeks.
I looked up: "The world a wide ocean"!
On the twelfth (day?) there appeared a bit of land.
To mount Nitsir the ship made its way,
The mountain of the land of Nitsir held the ship and let it not go;
One day, two days, mount Nitsir held the ship and let it not go,
The third day, the fourth day, mount Nitsir held the ship and let it not go,
The fifth day, the sixth day, mount Nitsir held the ship and let it not go.
The seventh day, at dawn,
I sent out a dove; she left, she flew hither and thither,
There being no lighting place she returned;
I sent out a swallow; she left, she flew hither and thither,
There being no lighting place she returned.
I let go a raven; she left.
The raven went, and saw the recession of the waters.
She ate, waded about in the mire, and did not return.
I let everything go out to the four winds, I sacrificed;
I poured out a libation upon the top of the mountain;
I set down censers seven and seven,
Into them I poured out calamus, cedar-wood, and sweet-incense.
The gods smelled the savor, the gods smelled the sweet savor;
The gods gathered like flies about the sacrificer.

The remainder of the tradition is full of interest, in that it tells of the final acts in the consignment of Pir-napishtim and his wife to the assembly of the gods. But for a study of the deluge story, pure and simple, it has slight value.

73. In a comparison of the two records, readers

must be struck with their large number of resemblances. These are so important that we shall set them down here side by side. The two accounts agree in these points: (1) The building of an ark (ship); (2) the preservation of the seed of life; (3) a deluge of waters with a great storm; (4) a landing on a mountain; (5) a sending out of birds; (6) an offering of sacrifice upon landing; (7) an acceptance of a sweet savor by the deity (gods). These similarities give rise to a series of questions as to their origins and relations. Without answering them at this time, let us note the spirit of the two accounts: (1) The purpose of the Genesis deluge was to put an end to the sinful race, and the decision was Jehovah's; the Babylonian record recites no purpose, but charges it all to the caprice of the god Bel. (2) The Genesis account is monotheistic, while the Babylonian teems with an active polytheism.

74. The similarities noted in the preceding pages between the records of Genesis and the inscriptions call for further thought. These are not traditions peculiar to Semitic peoples and religions, as growing out of their characteristics. They are common to all civilized nations of antiquity. They carry on their faces the marks of the civilizations in which they have been preserved. Their common elements point to a time when the human race occupied a common home and held a common faith. The records of Genesis and

the inscriptions give us two forms of these early traditions.

How, then, is the similarity between Genesis and the inscriptions to be explained? There are four answers sometimes given to this question: (1) The Genesis account is drawn from these traditions; (2) Genesis is the source of these traditions; (3) Their likeness is attributable to like ways of thinking—similar traditions having spontaneously arisen in different parts of the earth because of "the natural tendencies of the human mind in its evolution from a savage state" (Nadaillac); (4) "Their likeness is due to a common inheritance, each handing on from age to age records concerning the early history of the race."

These theories are elaborated by Cave, and are easily disposed of down to the fourth point. To this very many scholars are now turning as the most plausible solution of the question. All religions are reducible to a small number of facts. These facts are either individual or common; of the common, some are undoubtedly due to the common nature of man, but others are just as clearly explicable only as an inheritance. Early races of men, wherever they wandered, took with them those primeval traditions, and with the varying latitudes and climes, their habits and modes of life, have carried these, and present them to us to-day in their different dresses. One ancient religion did not borrow these universal traditions from another, but each possessed primitively these tradi-

tions in their original form. A careful examination of all these traditions shows that the Genesis record is the purest, the least colored by extravagances, and the nearest to what we must conceive to have been the original form of these traditions.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PATRIARCHS UNDER EASTERN LIGHTS

75. The student of the Old Testament very early confronts the question of the dispersion of the human family. Whence came the numerous peoples? What relations did they sustain to each other? How came they to occupy the territories in which they are found? What was their original home? Does the evidence of ethnology point to the unity of the race? These and a multitude of similar questions almost hedge in a wide-awake student of the ancient Orient.

Some of these queries find their answers in a detailed study of the tenth chapter of Genesis. This is probably the oldest ethnological table in existence. (The portrait gallery of *Rekh-ma-ra*, in a tomb at Thebes, is the oldest ethnological record of its kind.) This tenth chapter of Genesis does not describe the characteristics of the races, but simply locates several of them—that were familiar to the writer—geographically. The recognition of this geographical element is necessary to the understanding of some of the peculiar combinations of this table. When we read that "Canaan begat Zidon his first-born, and Heth," does it mean more than that the two occupied adjacent

territory in Canaan? When Elam and Asshur are called the children of Shem, is the explanation found in the proximity of their lands? In this table, the three sons of Noah are each assigned to a particular settlement; Japhet occupies the north, Ham the south, and Shem the center. The cities and peoples in these particular regions are apparently regarded as the children of those great ancestors. The territory occupied by these peoples, so-called descendants of three great ancestors, formed almost a square. On the north we find the limits at the Caspian Sea, Black Sea, and Mediterranean Sea; on the south, the highlands of Abyssinia and the Indian Ocean; on the east, the mountains of Media and Elam; on the west, the Mediterranean Sea and the Lybian and Sahara deserts. The above territories combined give us the whole of the primitive civilized portions of the earth, with the possible exception of China.

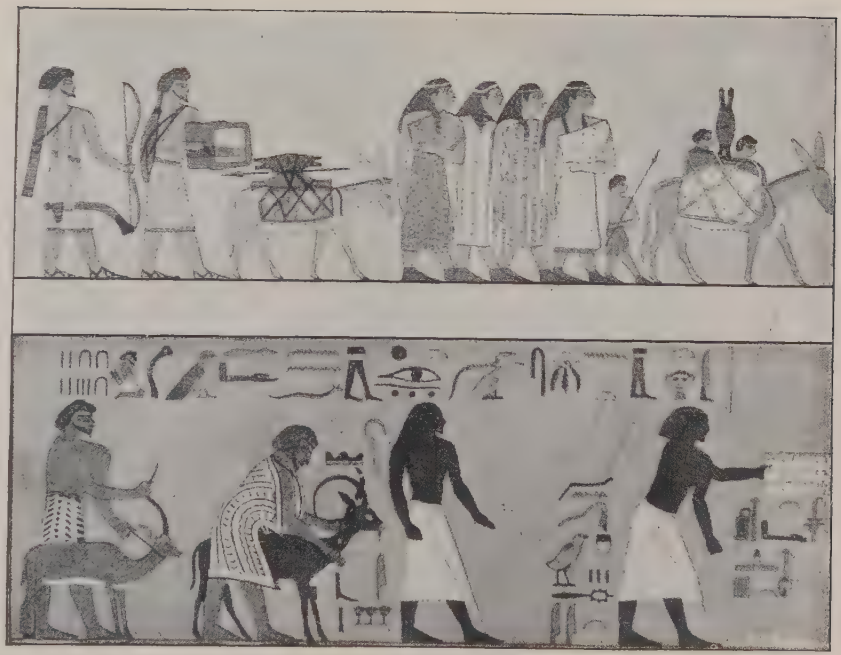
This is no place to present a statistical table of these names, but there is no part of the Old Testament upon which the monuments have thrown more light than upon this same tenth chapter of Genesis. It shows us that the names are arranged ethnographically, and present the chief settlements of the descendants of the sons of Noah. Out of this formerly mysterious list of proper names, the inscriptions verify the accuracy of more than thirty, by indicating both places and peoples. The inscriptions both of Egypt and of Mesopotamia also corroborate in many par-

ticulars the statements of this chapter. In a word, this table is a limited bird's-eye view of ancient nations, a word-map of ancient geography.

76. The home of the nativity of Abraham was long a lost city. The excavations of Mr. Taylor, in 1854, and the discovery by Major Rawlinson of important historical documents, have settled beyond reasonable dispute the location of Ur of the Chaldees. It stood on the right bank of the Euphrates River, on a spot now occupied by the mounds of Mugheir. It was originally a port on the Persian Gulf, but the mounds now representing its ancient site stand nearly 150 miles above the mouth of the Euphrates. This great distance between its old site and the present headwaters of the gulf are due, according to geologists, to the abundant deposits of alluvia made by the river during the past four thousand years. The inscriptions discovered give a list of kings who ruled over this territory before Babylon came to prominence, or became a capital. Ur was presided over by the moon-god, Sin, who was likewise the patron deity of Harran. The family of Abram's father, in its migration westward, made an important stop at this city. It was located near the great western bend in the Euphrates and was regarded as one of the chief cities of the northwest territory. It stood on the great highway of commerce between the East and the West, and served as a kind of board of trade. Its name, Harran (*harranu*), means "road," "way." It was also a cosmopoli-

tan city, for to this place came all the nations for gain and trade.

77. Abram's sojourn in Canaan was cut short by a famine, which drove him to the storehouses of Egypt. His appearance in this country was so remarkable that he was reported to the Pharaoh. In rapid succession we have records of the lying of Abram, the seizure of Sarah, and the plagues upon the royal house. After the discovery of the real facts in the case, this foreigner is treated with astounding consideration. For his deception of the king he is not slain, tortured, imprisoned, or even fined, but sent on his way with a royal guard. What strange and distinguished treatment at the hands of a foreign potentate! Let us take a glance at the political status of Egypt at this time. Egypt had already had about three thousand years of history (Petrie puts the first dynasty at 4777 B. C., Meyer at 3180 B. C.). The old kingdom covered the first six dynasties (4777-3410 B. C.). The middle kingdom embraced dynasties XI-XIII (2985-2565). The new kingdom included dynasties XVIII-XX (1587-1240 B. C. [Mahler]); and the foreign-domination dynasties XXII-XXV (930-728 B. C.). Of the omitted dynasties little or nothing is known. The large gap between dynasties XIII and XVIII was probably occupied by the domination of foreigners from Asia. These invaders were either of Semitic or Hittite blood. For long centuries, probably five or more, they held with a firm grasp the



A FAMILY OF THE AAMU OF NORTH ARABIA GOING DOWN INTO EGYPT
(From a wall-painting in one of the tombs of Beni-Hassan, xiith dynasty)

scepter of Egypt. If Abram came to the borders of this land while under their sway, he was a sojourner in a land ruled by his own blood-relation. If this were the case he would, of course, be the object of kind and considerate attentions.

78. The fourteenth chapter of Genesis has been under fire for a score or more of years. Its supposed antiquity has brought against it denials of its historicity. It has been maintained that it originated with the desire of magnifying the martial valor of Abram, and of explaining the origin of Melchizedek; and that the story of these great military campaigns was nothing more nor less than a piece of fiction. These denials have been based upon the theory that the events here described are located in prehistoric times. But light from the East has utterly dissipated this mist. We are now apprised of the fact that the armies of Babylonia were doing no new thing when they set out to make a second conquest of the kings of the West. They were simply following the precedent and political policy of their distinguished predecessors. Sargon I (about 3800 B. C.) and Naram-Sin, his son, had already, centuries before, made expeditions into the great West-land, the former having crossed over to the Island of Cyprus. A distinct evidence in the inscriptions of the veracity of this chapter is found in the character of the proper names. Chedorlaomer contains two Elamitic elements. Kudur is the general Elamite title, as Pharaoh in Egypt, Abimelech in Phi-

listia, for king. It is found in a cuneiform name, Kudur-Mabug. The second element is Lagamar, the name of an Elamite deity. "Amraphel, king of Shinar," is now generally identified with Hammurabi, king of Babylon, about 2250 B. C., who unified the entire Babylonian valley under one administration. For special treatment of the discovery of his laws at Susa and their content, see Appendix, p. 301 f. "Arioch, king of Ellasar," is also identified with Rim-Sin, son of Kudur-Mabug, who was king of Larsa during a portion of Hammurabi's reign at Babylon. Of this Rim-Sin (Arioch), we have more than a dozen dedicatory inscriptions. (See Price, *Some Literary Remains of Rim-Sin (Arioch), king of Larsa, about* 2285 *B. C.* U. of C. Press, 1904.

79. When was Joseph carried captive as a slave into Egypt? Many eminent Egyptologists think that the lad Joseph was brought down through the fortified frontier of Egypt, and sold to Potiphar, an Egyptian in Egypt, while the sovereign and royal court was in the hands of foreigners. It is also thought that these foreigners were the Hyksos from Asia. It is significant that the first Hyksos ruler was called *Salatis*, Aramaic *Shallit*, and that Joseph was called in Gen. xlii.6 *hash-shallit*, and that many centuries afterward the Assyrians named the Pharaoh *shiltanu*, that is, sultan. Joseph's position with a high officer at court gave him exceptional opportunities to gain a knowledge of Egyptian life and customs. As the trusted

overseer of Potiphar's house, he had charge of a characteristic Egyptian institution. In this responsible position he was basely slandered by his master's wife. There is a wonderful Egyptian tale, called "Story of the Two Brothers," which may be either an echo of this incident or based upon it. Its similarity to the account of Joseph's experience in Potiphar's house is so remarkable that the conclusion forces itself upon one that there must have been some connection between the two stories.

Joseph was thus slandered into the royal prison, where the chief of the guard would reside. Here he made the acquaintance of two other prisoners of high authority. The distinguished ex-officials dream dreams, and, as all Egyptians, attached great importance to their interpretation. The form and dress of those dreams are thoroughly Egyptian, locating the events beyond dispute within the border-lines of Egypt. The subsequent dream of Pharaoh, with its Nile River, its kine pastured on its banks, its grain, and its sacred seven, are significantly Egyptian. Even some of the words embodied in the Hebrew records are Egyptian. The duty of the chief butler was that of pressing the juice out of the ripe bunches of grapes in the presence of the Pharaoh. This especial beverage is noted on the monuments as one of the chief offerings. The chief baker was beheaded in accordance with an Egyptian custom. At a later date Amenophis II decapitated several Syrian kings and hung

up their bodies on his galley, and afterward on his fortress.

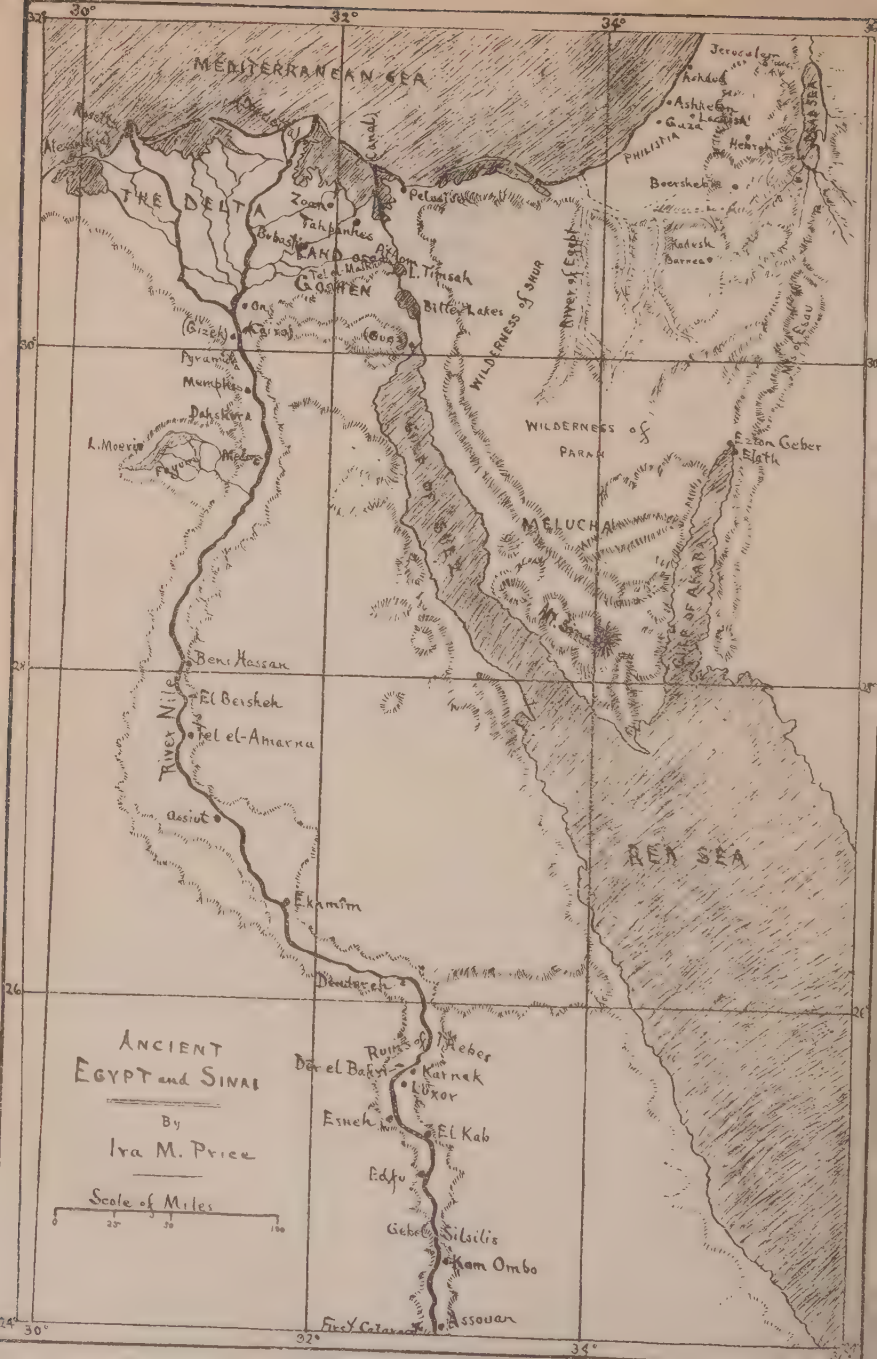
80. Joseph's skill in interpreting the dreams of those two imprisoned officials brought him to the attention of the king. The fact that Joseph shaved himself before appearing in the presence of the great ruler betrays the Egyptian origin of the story; for this custom has always been abhorred by Semitic peoples. It is now known, however, that even the Hyksos kings maintained this Egyptian ceremonial at court. The acuteness of Joseph's interpretations won for him the favor of the king. In accordance with known Egyptian court proceedings, he is formally installed as prime minister over Egypt. The seal-ring or signet was a stone or flat surface of gold, engraved for stamping upon soft material. These Egyptian rings are the most rare and beautiful jewels found in our museums of this day. Mr. Tomkins calls attention to one in the collection of M. Allemant. It is of black jasper, graven in intaglio on both sides. On the front there is a winged serpent and two Semitic signs; on the back a Hebrew inscription, dating from the epoch of the Shepherd-Kings, XVIIth dynasty. This is a most important witness to the presence of Semitic influences in Egypt in those early days. Tomkins quotes de Rougé's description of Antef, prime minister ("First Deputy of the King"). Joseph's authority seems to be paralleled by that conferred on this prime minister. He was called the "functionary of

the signet . . . chief of the chiefs, . . . alone in the multitude, he bears *the word* to men; he declares all affairs in the double Egypt; he speaks on all matters in the place of secret counsel. When he enters he is applauded, when he issues forth he is praised. . . . The princes hold themselves attentive to his mouth, . . . all his words come to pass without (resistance), like that which issues from the mouth of God."

81. The collar of gold with which Joseph was decorated was one of the marks of distinction among Egyptian officials. He was also to ride in the second royal chariot of the king, and in his progress through the land a word, *abrek*, whose explanation is still a mystery, was to be called out before him. Clothed with regal authority and power, Joseph became the administrator of the kingdom of Egypt. Whether this could have taken place under any Egyptian monarch is not known; but it is eminently plausible that a foreign Semite could have been promoted to the position of prime minister, if the ruling sovereigns were Asiatics and Semites, as the Hyksos probably were.

The dignity of Joseph, as well as his authority in office, was guaranteed by the Pharaoh securing for him a wife of high rank. She was the daughter of the high-priest of On. This official was the most influential of the religious characters of the land. Joseph's intimate relations with this house would insure friendly coöperation between the ruling and the

ritual classes. Thus armed with authority by the royal house, and protected by an alliance with the priestly house, and guided by a wonderful Providence, Joseph had every advantage in his favor for consummating a great work for the Egyptians.



MEDITERRANEAN SEA
THE DELTA
Zoan
Tahpanhes
Bubastis
LAND of GOSHEN
Tel el-Maskhuta
Pelusium
Canal
L. Timsah
Bitter Lakes
Ons
(Gizeh)
Cairo
(Guez)
Pyramids
Memphis
Dahshura
L. Moeris
Fayum
Melos
WILDERNESS of SHUR
River of Egypt
WILDERNESS of PARAN
Jerusalem
Ashdod
Ashkelon
Gaza
Lachish
PHILISTIA
Hebron
Beersheba
Kadesh
Barnea
Mts of Esau
Ezion Geber
Elath
MELUCHA
M. Sinai
GULF OF AKABA
Beni Hassan
El Bersheh
Tel el-Amarna
River Nile
Assiut
Ekhmim
Dendereh
Ruins of Thebes
Der el Bahri
Karnak
Luxor
Esneh
El Kab
Edfu
Gebel Silsilis
Kom Ombo
Assouan
First Cataract
RED SEA
ANCIENT EGYPT and SINAI
By
Ira M. Price
Scale of Miles
0
25
50
100
30°
32°
34°

CHAPTER IX

ISRAEL UNDER THE GLOW OF EGYPT

82. Joseph's promotion to prime minister of Egypt was made in face of the famine which he had predicted to the Pharaoh. Periods of distress of this kind had occurred by the failure of the annual rise of the Nile, from prehistoric times. Rulers in the past had made especial mention of the fact that their foresight had provided storehouses for grain, so that in the event of a famine their subjects might not be reduced to a state of starvation. The monuments already discovered make several references to droughts of widespread prevalence. One, at least, describes seven years of famine of great severity, during which even the king on the throne is grief-stricken at the distress all about him; the great misfortune is charged to the failure of the Nile-flood for seven years.

83. But there is a record of one famine which many, among them Brugsch, have identified with the time of Joseph. In a tomb at El-Kab, an inscription of the governor, named Baba, states that he, in the great famine which came upon his people, dealt out to them grain which he had stored away in times of

plenty. Brugsch says, Baba "lived about the time that Joseph exercised his office, under one of the Hyksos kings, lived and worked under the native king Ra-Sekenem Taa III in the old town of El-Kab. The only just conclusion is that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh, one of the Shepherd-Kings." Baba says, "when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued corn to the city each year of the famine." A famine of long duration at El-Kab would have reached the adjoining lands, and even the fruitful delta. The identity of the age of Baba and of Joseph is conceded by many. The severity seems also to have gone beyond the boundaries of the Nile-lands, if the biblical narrative is allowed to add its testimony.

84. It was just this kind of event that drove Joseph's brethren to the storehouses of Egypt for food. "Besides," says Prof. Sayce, "under the Hyksos Pharaohs of Zoan intercourse between Egypt and Canaan would have been easy and constant. No prejudice would have been felt against Hebrew strangers by those who were themselves strangers in the land. "The Pharaoh and his 'ministers' would have had no hesitation in granting the land of Goshen to a pastoral tribe from Asia. They would have seen in them friends rather than enemies, and possible allies against the conquered Egyptians." The location of the land of Goshen, between the delta and the Asiatic frontier,

would have given these Israelites the advantage of proximity to a border-line, if for any reason they desired to return to their former home. It was also a territory adapted rather for grazing than for raising the fruits, cereals, and vegetables of Egypt. The Israelites were also sufficiently isolated to allow them to enjoy the tribal life peculiar to wandering shepherds, and if necessity demanded, to go to the aid of their Hyksos benefactors. Israel was thus given a choice bit of Egypt for her occupation, with all of the advantages of location and of character of the country necessary for normal growth.

85. It seems most probable that the events of Joseph's life and the settlement of his kin in Egypt's land took place during Hyksos supremacy, otherwise we should not expect to have seen such benevolent consideration of their interests at the hands of the ruling power. "There seems to have been but one other period of history where these events could have taken place, and that was during the reign of the last two kings of the XVIIIth dynasty." But all things considered, the statements of early historians, the time necessary for the growth of Israel, and known facts of the periods, the events of Joseph's career and of Israel's settlement in Goshen are most appropriately found in the last dynasty of Hyksos domination, or according to Prof. Mahler's estimate, before 1590 B. C.

86. The struggles for supremacy of the old Egyp-

tian power finally succeeded in the expulsion of the Hyksos rulers. They were driven back across the frontier into Asia, and the throne was again occupied by an Egyptian monarch. This beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty was marked by a reversal of the establishments of the Hyksos supremacy. Very soon the new occupants of the throne began to drive far into Asia their old oppressors. After routing on the plain of Megiddo the combined armies of the Hittites and Phœnicians, Thothmes III pushed his arms onwards and upwards through the Lebanon mountains to the plains of Hamath. The shock of his battles shattered the armies of those Asiatic nations as far as the Tigris river and the mountains of Elam. So successful and revolutionary was he in his aggressiveness that modern historians have named him "The Alexander the Great of Egypt." On his triumphal return to the Nile-land, he recorded on the temple walls of Karnak a list of 355 cities that he had captured. Of these 120 were in the countries located on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Among these we find the familiar names of Gibeah, Ophrah, Shunem, Chinneroth, Hazor, Joppa, Heshbon, Megiddo, Hamath, and Damascus.

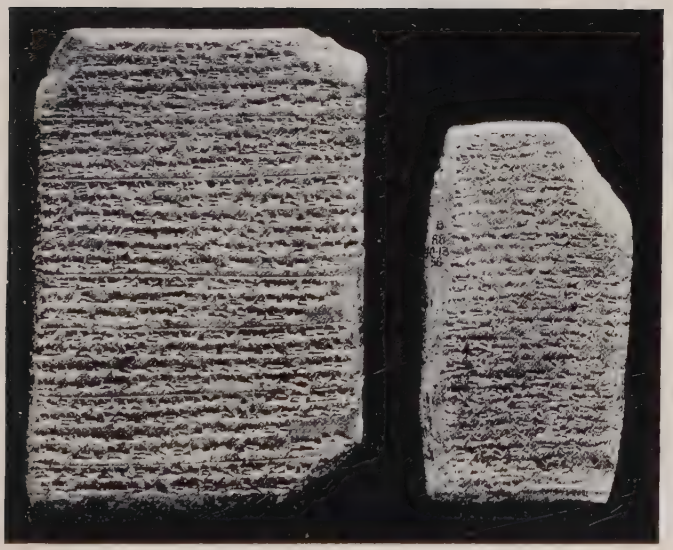
87. But these conquests in Asia became remotely the cause of the downfall of this XVIIIth dynasty. The friendly relations which he had established with the Asiatic peoples culminated within about a score of years after his death in a royal marriage. His

great-grandson Amenophis III took to wife a sister of the Babylonian king, and thus furnished a basis for perpetual amity between the leading political powers of those eventful days. Amenophis IV, his son, a half-Asiatic by descent, returned to the home-land of his mother, and, as his father had done, secured a beautiful Asiatic princess as a wife. This young king became so infatuated with the Semitic religion of his mother and wife that he transplanted it to Egypt, and set up at various places its altars and shrines.

88. This period of Egyptian history has been wonderfully opened up by the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna letters in 1887. These clay documents have proved to have been letters sent by various rulers, kings, governors, and other men in authority in western Asia to the above-mentioned kings of Egypt. These official and unofficial communications reveal the political and social conditions prevalent in these Asiatic dependencies in the latter days of the XVIIIth dynasty. They are written for the large part, strangely enough, in the cuneiform language, the language of Babylonia. Among other places they hail from Gezer, Ashkelon, Jerusalem, Byblos, Tyre, Accho, from the people of Tunip, of Arkata; and from such individuals as Aziru, Shubandi; from Mitanni, from the king of Mitanni to Amenophis III; from the king of Mitanni to the wife of Amenophis III; from Alishaya, in upper Mesopotamia, to Amenophis III;

from Burraburyash, king of Babylonia, to Amenophis IV. They are just so many flash-lights thrown into the Asiatic possessions of these later kings of the great XVIIIth dynasty. The political disturbances which agitated these provincial boundaries glisten with great brilliancy. We discover in this fifteenth century astounding political, social and commercial activity in western Asia, and a method of international communication which revolutionizes all of our previous ideas of those early days. These marvelous clay letters, written in the cuneiform character, also show how potent Babylonian influence had become even to the borders of the Nile-lands.

89. But these friendly relations with western Asia, as reflected in the Tel el-Amarna letters, introduced into Egypt elements of disintegration. The domestic ties initiated by Amenophis III and IV, brought again into power peoples from Asia, and established in the sacred precincts of Egypt a foreign religion. Amenophis IV finally adopted as his form of worship that of the sun-god, a Semitic deity of Western Asia. The old hatred for the Hyksos was aroused, and he withdrew from the sacred city of Thebes. At the modern Tel el-Amarna he set up his shrines, his worship of Semitic deities, as against the state religion of Egypt, which was sacredly guarded by the priesthood of the land. This heresy in the king of the land could not be long endured, and finally, through the letters from Tel el-Amarna, we learn that civil war



A TEL EL-AMARNA TABLET

A LETTER FROM ABIMELECH OF TYRE TO THE KING OF EGYPT
(Fifteenth Century, B. C.)

was breaking out, that enemies from the north, the Hittites, were advancing, and that general dissolution of the empire was in progress. In the midst of this storm of protest, of secession, and of aggression, Amenophis IV, or *Khu-n-Aten*, died. But his sepulchre was profaned, his mummy rent in pieces, and his sacrilegious city destroyed. Asiatics who were implicated in this heretical propagandism were forced to flee for their lives, or suffer the penalty by death. This chaotic condition of affairs ceased only at the rise of a new house, a new dynasty, the Nineteenth.

90. This new house adopted a new policy of exclusion in their motto, "Egypt for the Egyptians." The early kings were Rameses I and his son, Seti I. Their reigns were short and uneventful, except that Seti carried his arms into Asia and established his supremacy on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. But the accession of his son, Rameses II, marked the beginning of a new era for this dynasty and for Egypt. This young king was fired with the ambition of his great predecessor on the throne of Egypt, Thothmes III. With consummate skill he not only conquered most of the Syrian territory of that great monarch, but thoroughly organized it into a strong empire. Up the Nile he pursued the enemy and made subjects as far as the second cataract. In his Asiatic campaigns, however, he soon met a strong rival in the forces of the Hittites. They, by strategy, in one notable battle, surrounded Rameses in his chariot and put his army

beyond his aid. In a pathetic and desperate appeal to the gods, he is given supernatural help, and heroically cuts his way through their ranks to freedom. This close and almost fatal battle forms the basis of that finest epic in the Egyptian language, "the Poem of Pentaur." The apparent result of this clash with the Hittites was a drawn battle. Rameses II offered terms of peace. These terms were agreed upon, and formed the basis of a treaty. This document, duly executed and signed, is to-day almost a model of its kind. It was ratified by a visit of the Hittite prince to Egypt in his national costume, and by the marriage of his daughter to Rameses II in the thirty-fourth year of his reign. This is the most remarkable treaty on record from early times. Among many other provisions, it arranged for extradition in the case of absconding thieves, robbers, or slaves. It also formed an offensive and defensive alliance between the treaty powers.

91. While Rameses II was extending his boundaries he was active in building canals, storehouses, palaces, and temples. He surpassed all the kings of Egypt in his building activities. Of the thirty-two obelisks in Egypt, he is said to have erected in whole or in part twenty-one. Of the eight ruined temples in Thebes, he built in whole or in part, seven. His activity in this direction led him to erase from former temples and other monuments the names of his predecessors, and in their places to order his own

inscribed. His generalship is displayed in the equipment and government of a large standing army, with which he protected the home empire, garrisoned his foreign provinces, and made aggressions into new territory.

92. During the troublous, prosperous, and finally calamitous times of the XVIIIth dynasty, Israel occupied the land of Goshen, which had been assigned them under the direction of the Pharaoh of Joseph's premiership. Here, presumably, they enjoyed their liberties undisturbed. They mingled freely with Phœnician traders of the coast lands, and with foreigners who came in from the East. From a couple of hints in 1 Chronicles (vii. 21, 22, 24), it seems that some of them had wandered back either as settlers or as adventurers to the land of the patriarchs, to Canaan. They doubtless rendered submission as subjects of the reigning king, while peacefully carrying on their occupations as shepherds and farmers. The monuments of lower Egypt say little of the reigns of any kings from the expulsion of the Hyksos to the reign of the successor of Seti I, Rameses II. Israel had thriven and multiplied in the land, and counted themselves as part of its permanent population. But the revulsion of feeling against "the heretic king" and everything Semitic which overthrew the XVIIIth dynasty, took form in a "king who knew not Joseph." This is supposed to be either the first or one of the earlier kings of the XIXth dynasty. For at Moses'

birth the oppression had crystallized in a decree for the murder of all male children. Rescued from this slaughter of the innocents, Moses was reared and instructed for forty years at the Egyptian court, and forty years in the desert, being about eighty years of age at the exodus. This gives us, at least, eighty years of oppression.

93. But the question eagerly asked by all Bible students is, who was the Pharaoh of the oppression? This question is now laid to rest by the excavation, in 1883, of Edouard Naville, under the auspices of the Exploration Fund, within the old territory of Goshen. The numerous inscriptions and antiquities brought to light at Tel el-Maskhuta show that this ancient city Pi-Tum, "the abode of Tum," with its civil buildings Thuku, named by the Hebrews Pithom and Succoth, was built by Rameses II. In Grecian times this city was called Heroöpolis or Ero, the Egyptian word for storehouse, suggesting that Pithom and Raamses (Ex. i. 11), which Israel built for Pharaoh, were treasure-cities. At this place, Naville discovered even the treasure-chambers themselves. They were strongly built and separated by brick partitions from eight to ten feet thick. The bricks, half sun-baked, were made, some with and some without straw. These storehouses were means adopted by the Pharaoh, Rameses II, to provide for his people in the event of a foreign invasion, or of a famine, such as had often visited this land. These precautions served to make

Rameses' kingdom independent of his neighbors. These cities of Pithom and Raamses accord with the demands of the scripture narrative. The storehouses occupy in Pithom almost the whole area of the city, the walls of which are about 650 feet square and twenty-two feet thick. The strawless bricks in these walls almost re-echo the rigor of Pharaoh's words, when he said, "Ye shall no more give the people straw" (Ex. vi. 17), but demanded the former tale of bricks. About these old walls we can see and handle some of the handiwork of the Hebrew slaves. Could those old ruins but speak, what tales of hard task-masters, of bloody lashings, of exhaustion and distress would they reveal to us! The bondage of Israel in all kinds of hard and bitter service, aroused even to a murderous deed the court-educated youth Moses.

94. If Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the oppression, who was the Pharaoh of the exodus? Rameses II ruled sixty-seven years, and ruled in the latter half of his days with a master's hand. He succeeded in strongly intrenching himself in the midst of a powerful empire, and of making ample provision as he thought for its perpetuity. Any body of men who could have escaped from the delta into Asia would have been captured by his garrisons stationed throughout his possessions in the northeast. If they could have reached the Hittite country, the extradition section of the treaty between that land and Egypt would have necessitated their return to their master and king.

At the death of Rameses II, 1281 B. C. (Mahler), he is succeeded by a son who is by no means the equal of his father. Meneptah II's accession seems to have been the signal for a rebellion against the Egyptian throne. The Libyans of Northern Africa, the inhabitants of the isles of the seas, peoples from Asia, arose not only to free themselves from the yoke of Egypt, but even to invade her territory. Foreigners swarmed into lower Egypt and threatened the very existence of the empire. The withering and destructive oppression under which the Hebrews groaned, may be referred to in the inscription, pictured in our frontispiece, which contains the name "Israel." "A hymn of victory addressed to Meneptah alludes to 'the Israelites,' to whom 'no seed' had been left." But this oppression met a severe blow in the fifth year of his reign (1276 B. C.). It was the year of ominous uprisings among the surrounding nations. These taxed the military resources of the young king to their limits. The plagues also, paralyzing in their effects on the land and the people, stung the Pharaoh to a pitch of desperation. Driven on by rebellions and by plagues, he finally grants every demand of the Hebrews. They hastily gather up their goods and their flocks, and as a "mixed multitude" (Ex. xii. 38), they march eastward to pass out through the frontier fortifications.

95. Naville's discovery of Pithom and our definite location of the practical boundaries of the land of

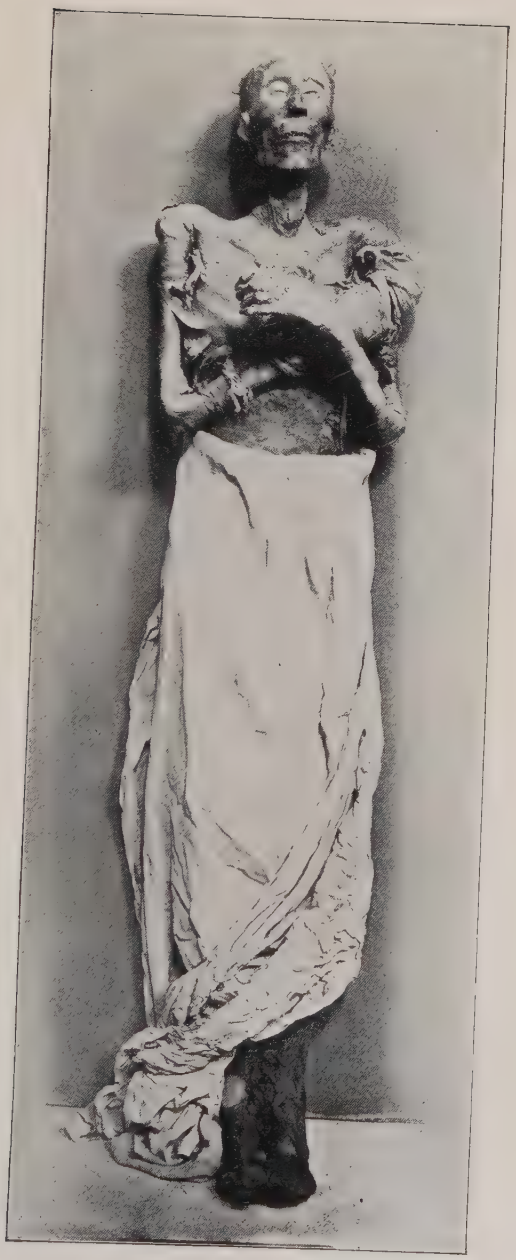
Goshen, is an aid to the tracing of the route of the Exodus. This motley throng of from two to three million persons marched up against the boundary wall-line. Thence they are led about until they face an expanse of water. A strong wind blowing all night forced back the waters, and the released slaves escaped across the bared shallows of the upper end of the Red Sea, probably then Lake Timsah. Pharaoh sent after the runaways a swift detachment of charioteers, who only perished in the returning waters. At about this same time Meneptah routed the allied enemies of his throne at a great battle, in which he took valuable booty and a multitude of captives. It is not strange that the flight of the Hebrews is not mentioned in Egyptian history. The escape of slaves, especially when it meant a practical defeat of the purposes of the Pharaoh, would scarcely be recorded by the court annalist. Again, the occurrence of such migrations as this was not seldom in lands of shepherds and nomads. Professor Sayce cites a case almost parallel with this in modern times.

96. Another notable case demands attention just at this point. The final plague was the death of the first-born. Dr. Paine (*Century Magazine*, September, 1889) gathers from many inscriptions that the records tell us of the sudden death of the eldest son of the reigning Pharaoh. It relates how Meneptah came to the throne when an old man, and that he had a son of his old age.

This son, when eighteen years old, he associated with himself in the government of the land. The tomb of the lad has been discovered at Thebes—*unfinished.* At Gebel Silsilis some tablets represent the royal group; one shows King Meneptah offering an image. The inscription beneath it reads as follows: "The heir to the throne of the whole land, the royal scribe, the chief of the soldiers, the great royal son of the body begotten, beloved of him [Set] Meneptah—deceased." It should be said, however, that all Egyptian scholars do not agree with Dr. Paine's interpretation.

97. So far from denying the Egyptian sojourn of the Hebrews, the biblical narrative preserves an Egyptian coloring, sets admirably on an Egyptian background, and reflects Egyptian life and customs. The excavations at Pithom, the one occurrence of the name "Israel" on the Egyptian monuments, suitable political conditions, and the veritable mummies of Seti I, Rameses II, and Meneptah II in the museum of Gizeh, point to the probable correctness of the claim that Israel sojourned in the land of Goshen.

98. How long? From the migration of Jacob's family into the land of plenty, to their exodus in 1276 B. C. How long were they in actual slavery? This question cannot be specifically answered. If they were enslaved by the early kings of the XIXth dynasty and escaped in 1276 B. C., their actual slave-service did not cover more than one century, while their



MUMMY OF RAMESES II
THE PHARAOH OF THE OPPRESSION

sojourn from Joseph's day may have lasted 300 or more years.

99. What was the purpose of that long Egyptian sojourn? What could Providence have had in store for his chosen people that they were permitted to suffer such hardships at the hands of cruel lords and taskmasters? The more we penetrate the mists of antiquity in the decipherment of its records, the more we perceive the remarkable character of the oldest civilizations located on the Nile and on the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. The patriarchs in Palestine were living among peoples of low moral character, of a low type of civilization, if civilization it might be called. God had in store large things for their descendants. To occupy the position which he had planned for them, it was necessary that they become acquainted with the nations of their day. Their settlement and sojourn in Egypt, through the mediation of a Hyksos sovereign, was the introduction of Israel to the foremost or one of the two foremost nations of those times. Yet they were so compactly settled that they lost neither their identity nor their life-customs, nor their God. Their long, peaceful sojourn gave them an opportunity to observe and to learn what Egypt's life, its government, its customs, its religion were. Then, daily mingling with the motley crowd of foreign merchantmen, seeing the rushing to and fro of Egyptian armies, and sharing in the benefits of the kingdom of this great land, broadened

their vision of the meaning of national life, and of its claims upon its subjects and supporters.

100. Then their seizure and enslavement had just as distinct a lesson for them. Though acquainted with many of the arts practiced about them, their actual training in these was forced upon them by task-masters. "They made their lives bitter with hard service, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field, all their service, wherein they made them serve with rigor" (Ex. i. 14). These words seem to teach that the Hebrews were compelled to learn all the trades and occupations of their masters, and to work hard at them. This was an industrial training-school in the foremost civilization of that day. It was the severest, the sharpest, and the most complete training a people could receive to make them masters of the leading arts and occupations of Egypt. Their easy contact with the Egyptians also had its lessons, and its tests for future responsibilities. Moses in the court of the Pharaoh, received the intellectual training, the spiritual testing, and the all-around preparation for his supreme task. The Hebrews, as bondsmen, were lashed into their places as apprentices and tradesmen, to prepare for independent service when the day of freedom should arrive. Thus a tribe is planted in the garden of Egypt, is trained and pruned with great care by an experienced gardener to produce fruit in the distant days of the unknown future.

CHAPTER X

THE PEOPLES OF CANAAN AND ISRAEL

101. The exodus of Israel from Egypt was her first step toward entering and occupying "the promised land." With eager hearts they set out to take possession of the land of their fathers. This land was occupied by a strange conglomeration of peoples, whose claim to it must be disputed by Israel. In other words, conquest was to be the means by which they were to secure their new home-land. To appreciate what a task they had before them, it will be necessary for us to take a glance backward at the early history of the peoples and political movements in this land. Only the briefest reference can be made to many important facts.

102. Some of the earliest references in cuneiform literature to this territory call it the "West-land"; and this term is broad enough to cover the entire east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, extending back to the desert lines on the east. This general term covers what in later times was included in northern, central, southern Syria, and Palestine. Who the earliest inhabitants of this region were and whence they came, are still mysteries from a prehistoric age. The earli-

est names of peoples fixed in this territory are those of the Canaanites and the Amorites. Presumably they first occupied this territory at a period of time subsequent to the earliest known settlements of Babylonia, from which peoples migrated in various directions. Their exact relations in time and in blood to the earliest occupants of Egypt are unknown. Our first biblical information about the peoples of this land is that supplied by the narratives of the patriarchal epoch. Our first extra-biblical references are found in accounts of the Egyptian campaigns into this corner of Asia. The peoples found here by these great military expeditions are supposed to have been crowded westward across the Euphrates by the growing powers of Babylonia. Some of the clans settled on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and in course of time, after ages of growth, betook themselves to a seafaring and commercial life, and became in later days the thrifty and wealthy Phœnicians. Others settled upon the land and became agriculturists and herdsmen.

103. The country of Palestine proper, the southernmost division of this coast-land, is a small bit of territory, bounded on the north by the mountains of Lebanon and Hermon, on the south by the desert of Sinai, on the east by the Syrian desert, and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea. Its area on both sides the Jordan river was less than 13,000 square miles. The peculiarity of its position, with desert on two

sides and sea on one side, lying on the highway between the fertile ranges of Asia and the Nile valley of Egypt, gave it supreme significance as the future home of Israel.

104. Palestine, then, as the bridge between Asia and Africa, was crossed by every military campaign carried on by either of these countries against the other. This fact subjected the inhabitants of this strip of land to frequent plunderings and to the paralyzing effect of stupendous military expeditions. Palestine even became the battlefield, several times, of great international strifes. These frequent crossings and recrossings of large armies made of this land a kind of periodical plunder-ground. During the times of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties of Egypt, Palestine was swept by at least fourteen military expeditions. The inevitable effect on the people in any such territory would be to blight their courage and ambition, neutralize their means of common self-defense, scatter their strength, and reduce them to mere separate neighborhoods and villages. This territory was not only the highway between the East and the West, but its possession was accounted of especial value, because of its proximity to the great commercial advantages of the eastern coast-line of the Mediterranean Sea.

105. The Tel el-Amarna letters, already referred to, are a new revelation of the conditions existing in Palestine during the reigns of Amenophis III and

IV of the XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt. However much the population of Palestine may have had to do with the Hyksos domination of Egypt, they were for a considerable time in the XVIIIth dynasty, subjects of the king of Egypt. These letters describe an unsettled and anxious condition of affairs. Invaders from the North threatened subjection, petty governors besought help from the king, in fact, the whole Westland seemed to be about ready to break up into a lot of minor states or cities. After the death of Amenophis IV this entire sweep of territory fell before the arms of invaders. During the domination of the kings of the XIXth dynasty, this same fateful strip fell back again to the sway of Egypt. To her it remained subject until the breaking up of the empire, early in the reign of Meneptah, about the date of the exodus of Israel. At this time her peoples achieved independence.

106. Early in the biblical narrative, regarding the occupants of Palestine, just before Israel's entrance, we find mentioned, besides the Canaanites, the Amorites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, Perizzites, and Girgashites. Of the Hittites we have already said that they probably were only a small colony, of the great northern empire, which had settled on the hills of Canaan. They seem simply to have lived among the other peoples of the land, and not to have formed a military community. The Hivites were merely, as the name signifies, "villagers," and were especially

numerous near the northern boundaries of the land (Josh. xi. 3; Judg. iii. 3). Their chief cities seem to have been Gibeon (Josh. ix. 17) and Shechem. The Jebusites seem to have been confined to one point, the formidable fortress of Jebus, within the confines of what later became Jerusalem. The Perizzites were the country people, in distinction from the inhabitants of villages or cities. Nothing whatever is known of the Girgashites, unless the brief reference in the Poem of Pentaur, to "the country of Qirqash" be a hint at the land occupied by these peoples. The Amorites and the Canaanites, however, were more formidable people and deserve larger mention.

In the Old Testament, "Canaanite," says Prof. McCurdy, is both a geographical and an ethnical term. Neither the people nor the land are ever assigned to the east side of the Jordan, but are rather confined to the coastline of Palestine, and the "Sidonian" country to the north of the plain of Jezreel, and as far east as the Jordan. "Canaanite" may even be the name applied to the occupants of any land west of the Jordan, even though they may be designated elsewhere under other local or racial names. "Amorite," however, is distinctly a racial name. The peoples to whom this name was applied occupied the hill country of Judah west of the Jordan, and were the races with whom Israel clashed on the east of the Jordan.

"Canaanite" and "Amorite" are not interchangeable terms, nor are they mutually exclusive. "Ca-

naanite" is sometimes used for "Amorite" in the racial sense, while "Amorite" is never used for Canaanite in that sense.

In addition to these peoples already described, the lowlands between the mountains of Hebron and the Mediterranean Sea were occupied by the Philistines, immigrants probably from Crete, or some other Grecian coast. These, with Hittites from northern Asia Minor, Canaanites from the Persian Gulf, Amorites from some distant land, made Palestine a strange commingling of foreigners.

It is altogether probable that the hint already noted in 1 Chronicles, and the scraps of information contained in Judges (chap. i.) preserve sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that there were also present in Canaan among these frequently mentioned nationalities communities of Hebrews. They were already in quiet possession of certain districts, and were an element in favor of the increasing army of their brethren.

107. This mixed population, in this small bit of territory, overrun and plundered by every crossing army for hundreds of years, was the problem which faced the invading Israelites. Separated into small clans, or centered in small cities, some of them well-walled and strongly fortified, without any central organization, or any common bond of unity, these peoples became an easy prey even to such an army as that with which Joshua crossed the Jordan. His

A PHILISTINE

AMORITES

stroke and capture of the key to the land, Jericho, and his marvelous success in taking one city after another, and his good fortune in not meeting a great and united army, gave him easy possession of many of the strongest points in the West-Jordanic territory.

108. After the partial conquest of this land and the formal settlement of the tribes among their conquered and unconquered neighbors, we find Israel subjected to the fiercest temptations. Peaceful proximity to the corrupt customs of their neighbors was a dangerous condition of things. It very soon resulted in friendly commercial intercourse, in mixed marriages, in a kind of free and easy coalescence of plans and purposes. The seductive religious rites of these new peoples, appealing to the physical senses of Israel, soon made captive the unwary conqueror, and won him over to the customs of the conquered.

109. This rapid coalescence of Israel with the peoples of Canaan dragged them down and made them an easy prey of invaders. Very early after their conquest and settlement in their new home-land, an ambitious ruler from Mesopotamia, Cushan-rishathaim, an Aramæan king, carried his arms down into Palestine. This invader was probably a successor of the Mitanni, already mentioned. His seems to have been the first foreign military campaign of any note since Israel had settled in Canaan. The deliverer was Othniel, one of the men trained probably by Joshua. The Mesopotamians were driven out and Israel again became independent. Enemies began to

arise from nearer quarters. Moab crossed the Jordan and subdued southern Israel and established her headquarters at Jericho. Ehud, a valiant Benjaminite, by a deed of treachery, slew the king, roused his countrymen and threw off the Moabite yoke. The unconquered Canaanites of northern Palestine likewise overcame the newcomers and held Israel under oppression until the victorious stroke of Deborah and Barak. Next came bands of Midianites, who ravaged the territory of Israel and so terrified its inhabitants that they sought hiding-places from these robber bands. This annual invasion was finally terminated by the rise and valor of Gideon and his valiant corps of three hundred heroes. The next threat and oppression came from another eastern tribe, the Ammonites. The frontier free-booter Jephthah, armed with a reckless daring, and a devotee to a crude form of religion, smote the enemy full in the face. His rugged zeal and fidelity led him to fulfil in all of its horrible details the conditions of his vow to the Almighty.

110. Still another enemy to Israel's peace appeared on the southwestern horizon. The Philistines, now grown in power, had begun to spread their net. Israel soon fell into its meshes. A hardy race centered in five strong cities, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gaza, Ekron and Gath, they early threaten the liberty of the Israelitish colony. Scarcely Semitic in descent, they, nevertheless, soon adopt the manners, language,

and even the religion of their neighbors. Their first raids were repelled by the valor of Shamgar, while later Samson plays his tricks with their armies. Finally, however, entrapped in their folds, he meets a most tragical death, but succeeds in taking dire vengeance on his persecutors.

During the days of the judges, we find a fearfully corrupt condition of affairs (Judg. xix.-xxi.). The prevalence of priestly prostitution to the service of idols, of horrible crimes, kindled a spark, a flame of internal strife, in which one tribe was almost exterminated. This state of things opened the door for the aggression of the Philistines, who were not slow to see and improve their opportunity. By the time of the closing years of Eli we find the Philistines carrying out their own sweet will despite every opposing faction of Israel.

111. Their advance was first successfully disputed only by the rise and power of Samuel. Israel's humiliation, and degradation in the presence of these indomitable fighters, led to the unification as never before of the scattered strength of Israel. It demonstrated to them that if they were to have a career as a people, they must stand together and fight together against their common foes.

Israel's settlement and quarrels and oppressions in their new territory, tried them in the fire, melted them in the furnace, and burnt out of them some of the dross, that had interfered with their unity and comparatively unified them as a nation.

CHAPTER XI

FOREIGN NATIONS AND THE SINGLE MONARCHY

112. The unification of the tribes of Israel under one ruler was consummated by the efforts of Samuel, the last judge, and the founder of the prophetic order. Under divine direction he selected privately and publicly a Benjaminite, Saul, to be the founder of the new kingdom of Israel. Saul's early test of leadership was in war against the Ammonites east of the Jordan. His victory over this enemy won for him the public enthusiasm and comparative unification of all Israel. His early administration is seen mainly in his energetic conduct of war with the minor peoples adjacent to the borders of his kingdom. The Philistines receive early and prompt attention, and are driven out of many of the fastnesses of the land. Jonathan's valor and action were a prominent initiative in this victorious result. The Amalekites, too, who had struck a blow at Israel immediately upon their escape from Egypt, suffered a withering defeat at the hands of Saul's army.

113. But the power of Saul exhausted itself on the battlefield. His poor administration of the government, his disobedience to the commands of the pro-

phet, forebode disaster. Though victorious over his neighboring foes, one of the chief elements of his success against the Philistines was found in David, a valiant warrior of Bethlehem. The sudden popularity of the youthful hero aroused the jealousy of the monarch. This jealousy grew into a bitter hatred that assumed the form of a species of insanity. David was compelled to flee for his life, and to live the life of an outlaw. The power of the king rapidly waned, and the aggressions of the Philistines equally grew. Finally, the fateful battle took place on Mt. Gilboa, where Saul and his valorous sons fell victims to a Philistine victory. These doughty warriors now ruled western Palestine and crowded the scattered remnants of Saul's army to the east of the Jordan. Abner, Saul's general, made Ishbosheth king of the fragment of a kingdom.

114. David, who had finally taken refuge from Saul, in the friendly land of Philistia, now returns to Hebron. By the intrepid vigor of the warrior Joab, this initial movement soon crowds back the Philistines, and David becomes master and king of all Judah. On the basis of overtures from Abner, David's authority soon extends over all Israel. The fortress of Jebus is now captured and the king makes this the capital of his kingdom. From Jerusalem as the center, his army swept about the whole horizon, subduing, receiving tribute, and concluding treaties.

115. But some one may ask: How was David's

army able to raid territory at such distances as Damascus and the Euphrates? What were the political relations of the great world-powers whose armies had often crossed this bridge? An examination of these questions reveals facts of double interest. "The successors of Rameses III of the XXth dynasty (1180-1050 B. C.), nine in number, all bearing the same name, had become mere tools in the hands of the great priestly guild of Thebes, and their reign is marked by domestic weakness and by official corruption. The next dynasty, the XXIst (1050-945 B. C.), was not only controlled by the priests, but actually consisted throughout of high-priests of Amun at Thebes." The military and administrative power of Egypt reached so low an ebb that this dynasty finally fell before the power of a strong Libyan leader who had formerly served as a mercenary in the Egyptian army. This condition of things in Egypt could interject no opposition to the conquests of David, but would rather encourage his adventurous spirit.

116. When we turn our attention to former empires of Asia, we discover similar political conditions. The Babylonian monuments are silent about the West-land, and the Assyrian records have next to nothing to say of affairs in the West between the reigns of Tiglath-pileser I (1120-1090 B. C.) and Assurnatsirpal (884-860 B. C.). So that there arose no protest against David from the peoples of Assyria and Babylonia beyond the Euphrates. Again, it is

noticeable that the Hittites, whose power had often been the dread of Egypt and of all the minor tribes on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, are not mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as a world-power after 1000 B. C. It is supposed that they had been crowded back into the mountains by the victorious campaigns of the Aramæans, who had crossed and occupied territory on the west banks of the Euphrates river. If, then, the Hittites were expelled by the peoples of Mitanni, or Paddan Aram, Syria, northern and middle, was Aramaic territory before the time of David. Its strong centers, such as Hamath and Damascus, presented a formidable defense against any invader. Damascus, especially, had been a prominent commercial center from prehistoric times, standing as it did on the great highway between the East and the West.

117. David's conquests embraced the peoples of Edom, Ammon, Moab, Philistia, and Amalek. His wars with these tribes were not long drawn out. Ammon, however, made a stubborn resistance. The most powerful opponents to Israel's advances were the Aramæan kings of the north and northeast. Hadadezer of Zobah was at the head of a federation of troops from Rehob, Tob and Maacha. These received a disastrous defeat at the hands of Israel under the leadership of Joab. Hastily they summoned all their allies, even from the east banks of the Euphrates. This formidable Aramæan army was

met by Israel, led by king David in person. The trained fighting army of Israel was victorious, not only over this great body of Aramæan allies, but over all Syria. The king of Hamath, likewise an enemy of Hadadezer, freely submitted to David and sent him gifts as symbols of his homage. The final reduction of Rabbath-Ammon concluded the conquests of David.

118. The scope of David's territory, and the diversity of his subjects, demanded careful organization. The king established an apparently successful administration. From the centralized power, the concentration of wealth, the building up of a court after the manner of oriental despots, and the moral weakness of the king, there sprang up a brood of disasters. A criminal king, family corruption, fratricide, and open plotting and rebellion on the part of Absalom, almost tore the kingdom asunder. But its destruction was finally prevented by the timely foresight of the king's counsellors, and the defeat and death of the rebel Absalom. At the close of the king's life another claimant to the throne, Adonijah, arises, but is superseded by Solomon.

119. Solomon's heritage was a kingdom thoroughly organized, at peace with its neighbors, and ready for development. This new king originated and executed vast building enterprises both in his capital and among his subject peoples. To insure peace and security he made domestic alliances with all his subject

tribes and powers. He also stepped over his own boundary lines and took as wives princesses of Egypt and of Phœnicia.

These relations not only secured the good-will of leaders among these peoples, but opened the door for political and commercial negotiations. The king of Egypt conquered, and gave to Solomon as a dowry with his daughter, the strong fortress of Gezer on the extreme southwestern limits of Israel's possessions. With Phœnicia Solomon established commercial relations of an important character. The artisans of Phœnicia became the chief workmen in the splendid architectural achievements of Israel. On the sea, too, Solomon employed the skilled tars of Phœnicia. The remote and still undetermined land of Ophir yielded him once in three years a mine of gold and a menagerie of tropical life. More than this, Solomon established great marts of trade within his territory. Tadmor, in the desert, was a kind of custom-house through which all the caravans from Mesopotamia passed and paid their fees. From Egypt he imported chariots and horses and passed them on at a fixed rate to the Hittites in the distant lands of Asia Minor. The revenue from all of these sources was something stupendous. It filled the coffers of the kingdom and made possible the chiefest luxuries of the wealthiest oriental monarchs.

120. This widely developed commerce scattered the fame and name of Israel to distant shores. The supe-

rior shrewdness and wisdom of Solomon followed the lines of trade, and aroused among foreign peoples a peculiar respect for, and curiosity to see, the man whose genius had wrought such revolutions on this insignificant strip of territory. This reputation among foreign peoples, these new international social relations, laid new duties on the court. The increased wealth of the kingdom supplied the means for giving the monarch more than ever the chief place in Israel. The throne became absolute, and the people merely the puppets of the king. This step toward a despotic monarchy tended to dissolve rather than fix the unity of the kingdom.

121. Solomon's matrimonial alliances doubtless had the virtue of establishing at the beginning of his reign peaceful and harmonious relations with his neighbors and subjects. These treaty relations led to increased commercial enterprise, and to a consequent material wealth. This wealth allowed the king to gratify the luxurious desires of the court. The presence of numerous foreign wives, princesses of decided power, made especial demands on Solomon. Their requests, perfectly natural, that they should be permitted to serve their fathers' gods, seem to have been readily granted. The king erected shrines for the whole troop of foreign deities worshiped by his treaty wives. This soon made Jerusalem a pantheon. It presented the anomaly of Solomon establishing at his capital a practical polytheism. This was too much

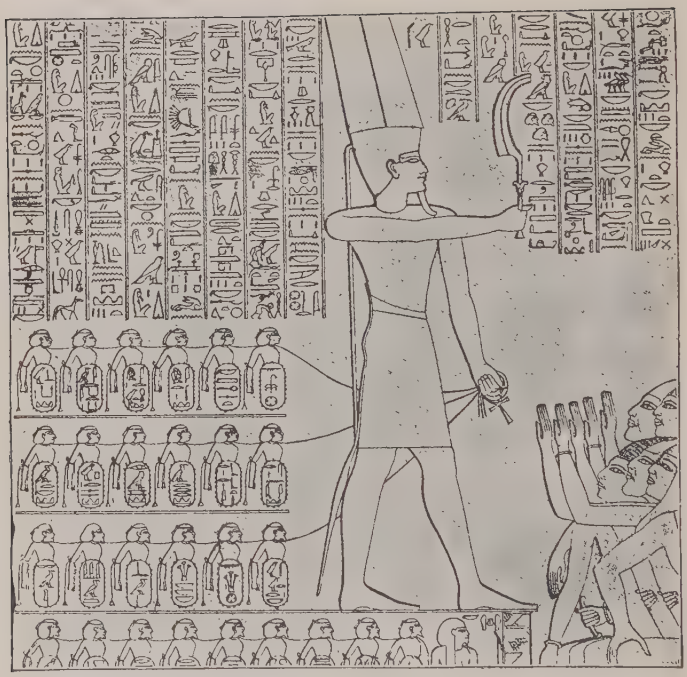
even for a Solomon. The luxurious outlay in his court, the mingled array of Egyptian, Phœnician, Hittite, Edomite, Ammonite, and Moabite beauty, the lavish shrines of the multifarious deities, and the entrancing rituals of worship submerged the old monarch. His grip on his administration slackened, and border rebels arose. The specter of rebellion appeared even within his own capital. He struck at the ghost, but it evaded his blow and took refuge with a new king of Egypt—a usurper of unusual strength. Elements of dissolution were at work throughout Solomon's entire realm. Rezon of Zobah had secured control of Damascus, and Hadad of Edom had returned from Egypt, and established himself among his own people. In a word, Solomon's power, at first enhanced by foreign alliances, gradually faded away before the blandishments and seductions of the elements introduced by these relations. The life of the united monarchy is threatened, its power has become its weakness, and its days are numbered.

CHAPTER XII

SHISHAK AND THE MOABITE STONE

122. The death of Solomon closed the glory-period of Israel. When Rehoboam assembled all Israel at Shechem his final reply to the reasonable demands of Israel ruptured the once united kingdom. Rehoboam was compelled to retreat for safety to the bounds of Judah—the original Davidic realm. Jeroboam, who had fled from the wrath of Solomon, and taken refuge in the court of Shishak, the new Libyan usurper of the throne of Egypt, was recalled and hailed as king of the seceding tribes. This disruption of the united kingdom gave Solomon's son the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, while the remainder fell to the lot of the returning fugitive Jeroboam. Thus for more than two centuries these rival kingdoms faced each other, generally in friendly, but sometimes in hostile relations. They fortified their realms against each other, and attempted to establish such political and religious policies as would guarantee patriotic fidelity on the part of their citizens and permanency of government.

123. The new Pharaoh of the XXIInd dynasty, Shishak (Sheshonk) I, had dethroned the power of the king whose daughter Solomon had taken to wife.



SHISHAK WITH HIS PALESTINIAN CAPTIVES

In this new court Jeroboam had been sheltered (1 Kings xi. 26-40). Doubtless Shishak's ambition had stretched into Asia, which had been in early centuries the foraging ground of some of Egypt's greatest victors. We do not know whether Jeroboam had any part in suggesting an aggressive campaign in this direction, though his acquaintance made in his brief Egyptian sojourn could not have been entirely forgotten. Whatever his motive may have been, Shishak, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv. 25-28), carried his arms into Palestine. He overran and captured the entire territory of Judah, and plundered Jerusalem. He carried off to Egypt the immense treasures of Solomon's accumulation, and compelled the proud Rehoboam to acknowledge his supremacy. Shishak also ravaged considerable territory of the northern kingdom, including the capture of some of its prominent cities.

124. On the southern wall of the court of the great temple of Amun at Karnak, Shishak has inscribed a sculpture representing this campaign. He enumerates 156 places, towns and fortresses that he captured, the northernmost being Megiddo. In this sculpture, the giant figure of Shishak is represented as holding in his left hand the ends of ropes which bind long rows of captives neck to neck. Their hands are tied behind them, and the victor's right hand holds over others a rod with which he threatens them. The names of the conquered cities are inscribed on ovals

or shields that cover the lower part of the body of each prisoner. Some of the most familiar names in this list are: Gaza, Taanach, Abel, Adullam, Beth-anath, Beth-horon, Aijalon, Gibeon, Shunem, and Judah-Melech, which the late Dr. Birch regarded as the name of the sacred city of Judah, Jerusalem. Prof. Sayce sees in the heads of the conquered those of Amorites, not of Jews. They are the fair-skinned, light-haired, blue-eyed, long-headed Amorites who are seen on the earlier monuments of Egypt. This seems to point to a general prevalence of Amorites among the Jews at this time.

Whether the resistance that Shishak met was so stubborn as to discourage further advances into Asia is unknown. Neither is there any evidence that he exercised continued authority over the people and territory captured. Whatever may have been the immediate results to Judah and Israel of this incursion and plunder, it is evident that within the next fifteen years the northern and southern kingdoms met in a mortal combat without interference from any outside power.

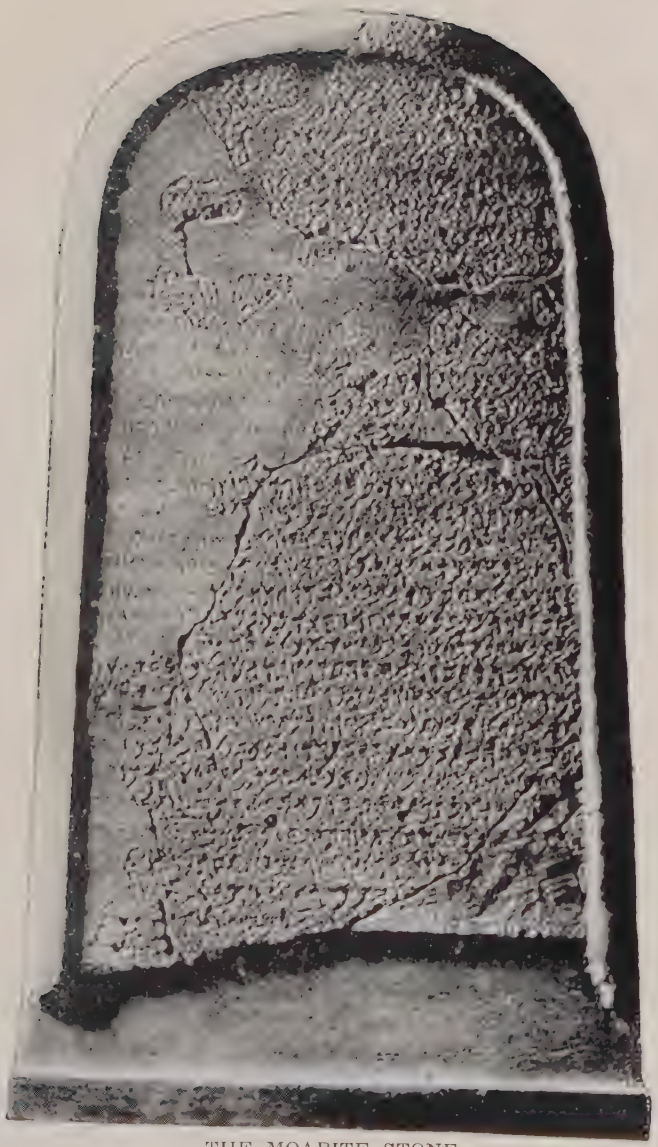
125. The next monument of value in Old Testament study is the Moabite Stone. This notable specimen of antiquity was found at Dibon (Isa. xv. 2) by a missionary, the Rev. F. Klein, in August, 1868. Its importance lies in the fact that it preserves one of the most ancient documents closely akin to Hebrew, and that it supplements 2 Kings iii. 4, 5. It was a

stone of bluish-black basalt, 2 feet wide, nearly 4 feet high, and 14½ inches thick, and rounded both at the top and the bottom. Across it on one side could be seen an inscription of thirty-four lines in Phœnician letters. Without perceiving the great value of this inscription, Mr. Klein copied a few words, and attempted to buy the relic for the museum of Berlin. After about a year's negotiations, terms were agreed on, and the stone was to be delivered to the German authorities for about $400. The French residents at Jerusalem, however, sent men to take paper impressions of the stone, and offered the natives at the same time more than $1,800. Very naturally, the owners suspected that it contained fabulous powers, and the Governor of Nablus demanded it for himself. Fear of losing such a prize impelled the Arabs to build a fire under it, and when hot to pour cold water over it. This process cracked it into fragments, which they distributed among themselves as amulets and charms. This looked like a fitting result of the contentions of the national representatives at Jerusalem, and an irreparable loss to the science of archæology. But, fortunately, some time after, M. Clermont-Ganneau succeeded in recovering most of the broken pieces. By means of the squeezes, or paper impressions, taken before the stone's destruction, he reset the fragments. The restored stone may now be seen in the Louvre in Paris.

126. This inscribed stone is a supplement to the records of the reigns of Omri, Ahab, Jehoram, and Jehoshaphat. Omri had subdued Moab, and had collected from her a yearly tribute. Ahab had also enjoyed the same revenue, amounting, under Mesha's reign, to the wool of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams (2 Kings iii. 4-27). At the close of Ahab's reign, Mesha refused longer to pay this tribute. The allied kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom marched with their armies against them. The Moabites fled for refuge within the strong fortress Kir-haraseth, where Mesha offered up his own son on the wall as a burnt offering to Chemosh, his god. This stone was set up by king Mesha, to Chemosh, about 850 B. C., to commemorate his deliverance from the yoke of Israel.

127. Its translation runs as follows, the numeration of lines corresponding in general to the original:

1 I (am) Mesha, son of Chemoshmelek, King of Moab, the Dibonite.
2 My father ruled over Moab thirty years, and I ruled after my father.
3 And I prepared this monument for Chemosh at Korkhah,
4 A monument [to celebrate] deliverance, because he saved me from all invaders, and because he let me see (my desire) upon all mine enemies.
5 Omri (was) king of Israel, and he oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his land.
6 His son succeeded him, and he also said, "I will oppress Moab."
7 In my days said he [thus]: I will see my desire on him and his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting loss.



THE MOABITE STONE
(Of the Ninth Century, B. C.)

8 And Omri took possession of the land of Mehedeba, and dwelt therein during his days, and half the days of his son, forty years.
9 But Chemosh restored it in my days. I built Baal-Meon, and constructed in it a *pool* (?),
10 And I built Kirjathan. The Gadites had dwelt in the land from ancient times, and the king of Israel had built for himself Ataroth;
11 But I warred against the city and took it.
12 And I slew all [the inhabitants of] the city, a spectacle for Chemosh and for Moab.
13 And I carried off thence the *arel* of Dodeh, and I dragged it before Chemosh in Kerioth.
14 And I caused to dwell therein the men of Sharon and the men of Meheroth.
15 And Chemosh said to me: Go take Nebo against Israel.
16 And I went by night and fought against it from early dawn until high noon.
17 And I took it and slew all of it, seven thousand men and women, and . . . . . female slaves; for to Ashtor-Chemosh I had devoted it.
18 And I took thence the *arels* of Jehovah, and dragged them before Chemosh.
19 Now the king of Israel had built Jahaz, and he dwelt in it while he waged war against me; but Chemosh drove him out before [me; and]
20 I took of Moab two hundred men, all chiefs; and I led them against Jahaz, and took it to add it unto Dibon.
21 I built Korkhah, the wall of the forests (or *Jearim*), and the wall of the fortress (or *ophel*).
22 And I built its gates, and I built its towers.
23 And I built the king's palace, and made two large receptacles (?) for water in the middle of the town.
24 There was no cistern in the middle of the town of Korkhah; and I said to all the people,
25 Make for yourselves, each man a cistern in his own house. And I dug the channels for Korkhah by means of the prisoners of Israel.

26 I built Aroer, and I made the highway alongside of the Arnon.
27 I built Beth-Bamoth ; for it had been torn down. I built Bezer, for in ruins [it had fallen].
28 [And the chie]fs of Dibon were fifty, for all Dibon was submissive [to me].
29 And I reigned over a hundred [chiefs] in the towns which I added to the land.
30 And I built Beth-Mehedeba and Beth-Diblathen, and Beth-Baal-Meon; and located there the shepherds (?).
31 . . . . . the small cattle of the land. And in Horonaim there dwelt . . . . and . . . . .
32 . . . . . Chemosh said to me: Go down, fight against Horonaim. And I went down . . . . . .
33 . . . . . Chemosh restored it in my days. And I went up thence to . . . . . .
34 . . . . . And I . . . . . .

128. This old document reads almost like a new chapter of 2 Kings. Its significance can be indicated but briefly. It touches history, religion, and topography. Its contribution to the historical situation in Israel is of first importance. We learn (1) that Omri was obliged to resubjugate Moab (line 5) in the early years of his reign; and (2) that he occupied the cities captured during his campaign (line 8); (3) that this occupation suddenly ceased in the middle of the reign of Ahab (line 9); (4) that the expulsion of Israel was accomplished by Mesha only after a series of battles; (5) that the cruelty visited on the captured cities resembled the methods employed by Joshua in the conquests of Canaan (lines 12 and 17); (6) that the cities and

fortresses retaken were strengthened for future defenses; (7) that the territory recaptured was repopulated; and (8) that the methods of warfare and marks of civilization were similar to those found in Israel. We also ascertain the fact that national defeat, as in Israel, was attributed to the anger of their god. More important yet is the mention of the name of Jehovah, to whom Israel is said to have erected *arels* —probably altars or shrines, or a sanctuary—in Nebo.

This wonderful document, erected soon after the death of Ahab, is the finest old inscription so akin to Hebrew yet found. It has not been copied by scribes through a series of centuries, as is the case with the books of the Old Testament. But we have to-day the original that was prepared by its artist in the middle of the 9th century B. C. It tells us also that the Moabites employed nearly the same language and the same customs of warfare as their neighbors and kin, Israel. We are also aware of the fact that Moab in the ninth century B. C. was not a barbarous, but a progressively civilized people.

CHAPTER XIII

SHALMANESER II AND TRIBUTARY ISRAEL

129. The fame of Omri, first king in the fourth dynasty of Israel, had reached all the surrounding nations. His influence at the court of Sidon had favorably introduced his son Ahab and secured for him matrimonial alliance with the royal house. His vigorous campaigns east of the Jordan had gained for him large tribute, and in the settlement of acquired possessions, an outlet for his surplus population. The strength of his new capital, Samaria, and his ability in organizing and building up his kingdom, had doubtless been carried to the distant capitals of the Assyrians, for we find in their inscriptions of the next two hundred years that Canaan was designated as "the land of Omri," "the land of the house of Omri." Early in his reign the power of Assyria began to grow. The first great king in this new epoch was Assurnatsirpal (884-860 B. C.). His conquests swept westward to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, but left Syria and Israel practically undisturbed. The invincible character of his army, however, sounded a note of alarm to these kingdoms, whose political schemes for more than two centuries had been free to run their own course.

130. The son and successor of Assurnatsirpal, Shalmaneser, came to the throne and ruled for thirty-five years (860-825 B. C.). His administrative powers were early exerted in maintaining the unity of his father's realm. His military campaigns reached the number of twenty-six, several of which are of especial interest to students of the Old Testament. The first intimation of his dangerous approach to Israel appears in 1 Kings xx. 34. Here we learn that Ahab had defeated Ben-hadad in battle; or, rather, Syria had fled at the supposed sound of Israel's approaching allies. A second battle is fought in the plain near Aphek, where the God of the Hebrews, being a God of the hills, as the Syrians supposed, would be powerless to help. The Syrian king and army, however, met a disastrous defeat. Ben-hadad, at the counsel of his officers, came out of his hiding-place and presented himself, with a rope about his neck as an appeal for mercy, to Ahab of Israel. So far as can be judged from the Kings record, Ben-hadad was not subjected to the indignities which he, as a captive, should have received. More than that, Ahab gave him large quarter, and began negotiations which resulted in a treaty. Some of the stipulations of this document were that Ben-hadad should restore cities which his father had wrested from Ahab's father, Omri, and that Israel should now have streets in Damascus, as Syria formerly had had in Samaria, probably as depots or commercial sales-houses.

131. There must have been in this treaty, either expressed or implied, another important provision. How did Ahab show such leniency toward Syria? Why did he not demand the surrender of Damascus, or some other thing commensurate with the weight of his victory? Upon an examination of the political horizon, we determine that Ahab was not yet ready to commit national suicide, and that he exhibited in this treaty some of the best traits of statesmanship. If this event is properly located as to time, we find that the great Shalmaneser II of Assyria, with his almost invincible troops is sweeping the country east of the Euphrates; that his army is bent on a western campaign; and that the political skies are darkened by the ominous clouds of an invasion. Syria, as centered at Damascus, was the only barrier between Ahab and this portent of destruction. To have cut down Ben-hadad and leveled this breastwork would have been the height of folly, and the shortest road to national disaster. This treaty, which preserved intact the king and kingdom of Damascus, was Ahab's best defense for his own people and realm.

132. A direct evidence of the truth of what has just been said is found in an inscription of this same Shalmaneser II (III Rawl. 8, 78-102):

"In the eponym-year of Dayan-Asshur (854 B. C.), on the fourteenth day of the month Iyyar (about May), I left Nineveh, crossed the Tigris river, and advanced against

PORTRAIT OF SHALMANESER II
(With an inscription cut across it)

cities of Giammu, on the river Balich. They feared the awe of my majesty, and the terror of my powerful weapons; and they slew with their own arms Giammu, their lord. I entered Kitlala and Til-sha-turahi. I set up my gods in his temples, and in his palaces I made a feast. I opened his storehouse, beheld his treasures, carried away his substance and goods as spoil, and brought them to my own city of Asshur. From Kitlala I set out, and approached Fort Shalmaneser. In boats [or floats] of sheepskin I crossed for the second time the Euphrates river at its flood. The tribute of the kings on the farther side of the Euphrates, of Sangar of Carchemish, of Kundashpi of Kumukh, of Arame son of Gusi, Lalli of Milid, of Chayani son of Gabari, of Kalparuda of Patin, of Kalparuda of Gamgum: silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, I received at Asshur-utir-atsbat on the farther side of the Euphrates, in the city of Sagur, which the Hittites call Pitru (Pethor, Num. xxii. 5). I set out from the river Euphrates, and drew near to Chalman (Aleppo). They feared to contend with me, and embraced my feet. I received silver and gold as their tribute, and sacrificed before Ramman of Chalman.

"I marched forth from Aleppo. I approached the cities of Irchulina of the land of Hamath. I captured Adinnu, Mashga, and his royal city Argana. I set out from Argana and arrived at Karkar. Karkar, his royal city, I destroyed, razed, and burnt with fire. Twelve hundred chariots, 1,200 cavalry, 20,000 soldiers of Hadadezer of Damascus, 700 chariots, 700 cavalry, 10,000 soldiers of Irchulina of Hamath, 2,000 chariots, and 10,000 soldiers of Ahab of Israel (*A-ha-ab-bu-mat Sir-'i-la-aa*); 500 soldiers of the land of Kue; 1,000 soldiers of the land of Mutsri; 10 chariots and 10,000 soldiers of the land of Irkanati; 200 soldiers of Matinu-Baal of the land of Arvad; 200 soldiers of the land of Usanata; 30 chariots, 10,000 soldiers of Adunu-Baal of the land of Shian; 1,000 camels of Gindibu'u of the land of Arabia, ... 1,000 soldiers of Ba'asha son of Ruchubi (Rehob) of the land of Ammon, — those twelve [eleven] kings he took to himself as allies; and they marched forth to fight with me in battle.

With the splendid forces which the lord Asshur gave me, with the powerful arms which Nergal, who marched before me bestowed, I fought with them; from Karkar to Gilza I routed them; 14,000 of their fighting men I brought down with the sword. Like Ramman (the weather god) I poured upon them a flood [of troops]; scattered their corpses far and wide, covered the surface of the plain with their numerous troops, poured out their blood with the sword. . . . . I reached the Orontes before turning back. In that battle I took from them their chariots, their cavalry horses, and their draught horses."

133. This quite full account of the second campaign of Shalmaneser into the West-land pictures the attempt of the allied forces to withstand him. The number of slain in this battle is told in a briefer record on the obelisk as 20,500 men, while another account gives the number as 25,000. The Assyrians advanced as far as the Orontes River before they turned back. The real issue of the battle is not told. It seems that it must have been a draw, as no immediate advantage, toward the South, at least, was taken by Shalmaneser.

134. The composition of the allied troops is most interesting. It is evident that the advance of Assyria into this territory aroused great consternation among its peoples, who united their military strength and succeeded in putting a temporary check, at least, on the vaulting ambition of this new Assyrian monarch. In this army we discover the largest companies of troops under the king of Hamath, the king of Damascus, and under Ahab of Israel. The first

name in the list is that of the king of Damascus, etymologically the same as Ben-hadad, the peoples with whom Ahab made his treaty already noted. He joined common cause with all the provinces on the east coast of the Mediterranean, to repel a common enemy and invader. In this army we find also the Mutsri from Cappadocia, several detachments from the Phœnician coast, Ammonites from the edge of the Syrian desert, and Arabs from the desert itself. Shalmaneser's loss is not given, but his advantage was so small that he did not return to this territory for five years.

135. Although the kingdoms of Israel and Syria were usually at swords' points, the evidence goes to show that the advance of Shalmaneser forced an alliance between these kingdoms. We ascertain in 1 Kings xxii. that after a peace of three years between these powers, war again broke out, and Syria again ravaged the East-Jordanic territory. The battle of Karkar occurred in 854 B. C. The very next year probably found Ahab, with Jehoshaphat of Judah, fighting with the Syrians for the possession of Ramoth-gilead, where Israel's king was mortally wounded. In two subsequent campaigns of Shalmaneser, we read of coalitions between the western provinces, but of none in which Israel is mentioned.

136. Hazael of Damascus, who secured the throne of Syria by smothering his master, Ben-hadad (2 Kings viii.), plays a large part in some of Shalman-

eser's campaigns. Mention cannot be made here of several expeditions between 854 and 842 B. C., as they did not bear directly on Israel. But in 842 the Assyrian monarch advanced directly against this Hazael of Damascus. His own record on a pavement slab from Calah tells the story (III Rawl. 5, No. 6, 40-65):

"In the eighteenth year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus trusted in the power of his forces, marshalled his troops in full strength. He made Senir (Hermon, cf. Deut. iii. 9), the summit of the mountain opposite Lebanon, his stronghold. With him I fought, and defeated him. Six thousand of his soldiers I brought down with weapons; 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his horses, together with his camp, I took from him. To save his life he fled; I pursued him; in Damascus, his royal city, I shut him up. His plantations I destroyed. As far as the mountains of Hauran I marched. Towns without number I laid waste, razed, and burnt with fire. Their innumerable spoil I carried away. As far as to the mountains of Baalrasi situated close to the sea (the headland at Dog River), I marched. My royal image I set up in that place. At that time I received the tribute of the Tyrians and Sidonians, and of Jehu the son of Omri."

137. In this sixteenth campaign we find Shalmaneser reducing Damascus, the Hauran, and all the territory to the Mediterranean Sea. Among his tributary princes or kings we find the name of "Jehu son of Omri" of Israel. The black obelisk of Shalmaneser, which represents both in word and in pictures several nations who paid him tribute, presents us a line of tribute-bearing personages loaded down

THE BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMENESER II
(Found at Nimroud by Layard)

with goods, while over them we find this inscription: "The tribute of Jehu the son of Omri, silver, gold, basins of gold, bowls of gold, cups of gold, buckets of gold, lead, a royal sceptre, staves, I received." There is no biblical or Assyrian record of any defeat of Jehu before Shalmaneser, nor is there evidence that he was merely paying the tribute of his predecessors on the throne. The dangerous approach of Shalmaneser, and the invincible character of his army, forwarned Jehu that his surest method of deliverance would be to dispatch his envoys, even if he himself did not go, and pay the price of submission. "The son of Omri" has no more significance than to designate Jehu as Omri's successor on the throne of Israel.

138. The perpetual enmity existent between Israel and Syria may have led Jehu to hope to form some sort of an alliance with Shalmaneser whereby he could gain an advantage over Hazael. In another, and the last campaign against Hazael, in 839 B. C., we find the Tyrians and Sidonians again paying tribute, though no mention is made of Jehu. Whatever may have induced Jehu to court the favor of Shalmaneser in 842 B. C., it is practically certain that that act did not protect him from the incursions of Syria. For in 2 Kings x. 32, 33, we read: "In those days Jehovah began to cut Israel short: and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel; from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites,

and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan." The withdrawal of Shalmaneser from the West-land gave Hazael wide opportunity to develop his ambitious designs. His army, after subjugating the whole of the East-Jordanic territory, turned westward. Israel's complete overthrow seemed near at hand. Hazael crossed the land of Judah, stormed and captured Gath, one of the great fortresses of Philistia, and even dictated terms to Jerusalem, the capital of Judah. Thus the hostility between Jehu and Hazael resulted in the humiliation and defeat of the former, and in the growth and development of Syria beyond any other period of her history.

139. Subsequent events in the kingdom of Israel add only to the harsh treatment she had received at the hands of Syria. The record in 2 Kings xiii. 7 says that "there had been left to Jehoahaz of the people only fifty horsemen and ten chariots and ten thousand footmen; for the king of Syria [Ben-hadad III, son of Hazael] had made them to be trodden down like dust." While during the reign of Ahab she was able to take her place as one of the three strongest allies against Shalmaneser at Karkar, Israel is now nothing more than a small province of Syria, absolutely under her will and control. This sore condition of things brought her to her knees, to implore the mercy and aid of Jehovah (2 Kings xiii.

4, 5). We find that a deliverer was granted, but who was he? and whence did he come?

140. The West-land remained undisturbed by Assyria for about forty years, from the middle of Shalmaneser's reign to that of his grandson, Adad-nirari III (812-783). That conqueror extended his boundaries beyond those of any previous king. At least five campaigns were conducted for the conquest of these western regions. His campaigns of 804-797 B. C. decided the then fate of Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine. His own epitomized story is as follows (I Rawl. 35, 10-18):

> From beyond the Euphrates, (to) the land of the Hittites, the West-country in its entire extent, (namely) Tyre, Sidon, the country of Omri, the country of Edom, the country of Philistia, as far as the great sea of the setting sun (Mediterranean), I put under my yoke, (and) taxes and tribute I levied upon them. Against the country of Damascus I marched; Mari', the king of the country of Damascus, in his royal city, Damascus, I shut up. The fear of the brilliancy of Asshur, his lord, overwhelmed him, he embraced my feet, (and) became my servant. 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of copper, 5,000 talents of iron, variegated and linen clothing, a couch of ivory, a seat inlaid with ivory, his goods and property beyond calculation, in Damascus, his royal city, in his palace, I received.

141. This account tells us that the rival power, Damascus, was crushed, that Israel was released from the immediate presence of a dangerous foe, and that the entire east coast-line of the Mediterranean Sea was compelled to yield submission to the king of Assyria. The tenor of the record of the Assyrian king leads us to conclude that of all his conquests,

that of Syria and Damascus was the most important. Its subjection meant not only release for Israel, but freedom in the immediate future to extend their power and increase their revenues. Without the statement of the definite facts in the fragmentary inscriptions of this king, it is probable that Rammannirari exercised his sway and collected his tribute until the time of his death (783 B. C.). The expansion of Israel under Jeroboam II, and of Judah under Uzziah, occurred during the following decades of inactivity on the part of the kings of Assyria.

CHAPTER XIV

TIGLATH-PILESER III AND THE WARRING JEWISH KINGDOMS

142. After the death of Adad-nirari III (812-783 B. C.), the next three kings of Assyria employed their mediocre strength and all their time in the neighborhood of their capitals. The West-land was practically abandoned to the will of its populations. Armenia especially was the object of Assyrian conquests, though its resistance was so formidable as to force Assyria to withdraw from the field. Armenian documents preserve for us that side of the question, and show that Armenia assumed even an offensive attitude toward the Assyrian provinces in the North. The weakness of the Assyrian kingdom is apparent when it is said that the monarchs were barely able to hold their own in their capital. Their inaction certainly reveals a condition which might seriously endanger the permanency and perpetuity of the Assyrians as a world-power.

143. But this period of Assyrian inactivity was the opportunity of the West-land. Jeroboam II, the fourth king in the dynasty of Jehu, who began to reign about the time of the death of Ramman-nirari,

rose to the occasion. The chastisement and humiliation of the kingdom of Syria by the late Assyrian king opened a door for Israel's expansion. Jeroboam not only recovered the Israelitish territory which had fallen subject to Syria, but engaged in campaigns directly against her. His marvelous military successes carried his arms and planted them on the banks of the Euphrates, and at Hamath, in northern Syria. On the east of the Jordan also he conquered the Moabites, and set his southern boundaries at the lower end of the Dead Sea. This immense territory gave Israel her largest realm and made possible for her the natural development of her resources. This expansion of territory soon resulted in increased revenues, in larger influence over her neighbors, and in more abundant leisure and luxury. These commercial and social conditions and their direful results are set forth in the gruesome pictures of Amos and Hosea.

144. The kingdom of Judah, now under the reign of Uzziah, likewise took advantage of the decline of Syria and the absence of Assyria. The two kings, contemporaries, and on peaceful terms, were almost equally victorious in their respective spheres. Uzziah wholly conquered the Philistines, and the peoples to the south and southeast, until he reached practically the southern boundaries of the old Solomonic realm. This territory and people he thoroughly organized. He established a large and well-trained standing

army, to meet all emergencies that might endanger a kingdom like his. He strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem by adding to its defenses some of the most formidable weapons of his times. His interest in the direct welfare of his people is seen in the fact that "he hewed out many cisterns, for he had much cattle" (2 Chron. xxvi. 10), and thus took a lively interest in husbandry and agriculture.

145. The two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, under Jeroboam II and Uzziah respectively, mark the acme of political and commercial prosperity of the divided kingdom. Their combined territory was now almost coterminous with the Davidic and Solomonic realm. Their opportunity was due to the former great power of Assyria in crushing Syria, and her present inactivity in the West-land. This prosperity, especially of Israel, led to her decay, while that of Judah was followed in the reign of Ahaz by disastrous species of idolatries and by rebellion against Jehovah.

146. The precarious health of the Assyrian kingdom was entirely restored by the accession, probably, usurpation, of the throne by Pulu, or as he chose to call himself, Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.). This king took hold of affairs with a new grip. He shook up the dry bones of the last thirty-five years, and inaugurated a new and aggressive policy. He made rapid work of his conquests throughout his realm. His plans of organization and government differed from those of all his predecessors. They so

unified and strengthened his hold upon his peoples that the Assyrian seemed for once to be permanently established. His policy of deportation of rebellious subjects and of the importation of foreign subjects to take their place, was continued by successive Assyrian rulers with the best of results. In addition to this, Tiglath-pileser established in his vassal states, wherever possible, a civil in place of a military administration, one in which the populace would have some part or word. Of course, we cannot indicate here the merest outlines of the healthful influence of these governmental reforms.

147. The first two years of Tiglath-pileser's reign were occupied in settling affairs, quelling uprisings, and establishing his authority in Mesopotamia, even down to the south of Babylon. For the next three years (743-740) he was engaged about Arpad, in Northern Syria, both in taking its adjacent territory and in storming that city. It finally fell, and Assyria became master of all the adjoining communities. The Hittite peoples on the Orontes and in northern Syria rendered submission, and were made a part of the Assyrian domain (739 B. C.). In the next year of his reign Tiglath-pileser made further additions to his realm. As one of the results of this campaign, his own records say (III Rawl. 9, No. 3, 30-32): "Nineteen districts belonging to Hamath, together with the towns in their circuit, situated on the sea of the setting sun (Mediterranean), which in their faithless-

ness had joined faith with Azariah, I restored to the territory of the land of Asshur; my officers, my governors I placed over them.' One of the peculiar statements of this inscription is the remark that peoples near Hamath had joined faith with Azariah. Who was this Azariah? A fragment of another inscription (III Rawl. 9, No. 2, 2-3) adds a fact which will be helpful in settling the question: "(In the) course of my campaign [I received] the tribute of the kings(?); [Azri-]ja-a-u, of the land of Ja-u-da-a-a, as well as . . . . . As-ri-ja-u of the land of Ja-u-di," etc. This is either Azariah, king of Judah, who may have had possessions in Hamath, as hinted in 2 Kings xiv. 28; or, it may possibly have been, as thought by Winckler, an Azariah of a kingdom of Jaudi north of Syria.

148. In the same year (738) Tiglath-pileser moved southward against Palestine. In 2 Kings xv. 19-20 we find: "Then came Pul, king of Assyria, against the land, and Menahem gave to Pul a thousand talents of silver that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land." The Assyrian annals of Tiglath-pileser from this time specify (Layard Inscrip. 50, 10) that he "received the tribute of Kushtashpi of Kumukh, Rezon of Damascus,

Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre," etc. These statements inform us that Menahem of Israel, at least, could not occupy the throne without paying the price of that position, without turning over to Assyria a guarantee of his submission. The amount of money was simply enormous, nearly if not quite one and one-half million dollars.

This story tells us that the northern kingdom was nothing more nor less than a vassal province of the empire of Assyria. With a vast amount of booty, and guarantees of submission on the part of these western provinces, including Phœnicia, Syria and northern Palestine, Tiglath-pileser returned to his capital on the Tigris. From this point he carried campaigns over into Media and annexed large portions of that land to his imperial domain. Toward the North he chastised and partially annexed Armenia. In 734 he turned again toward the great West-land, from which three years before he had transferred to the capacious coffers of Assyria such enormous treasures.

149. The thrones of the Israelitish kings suffered frequent changes. Jotham of Judah, whose reign was mostly contemporaneous with the leprous days of Uzziah, his father, died in young manhood only a year or so after his father. His successor was the youth Ahaz, a character famed for his notorious wickedness. The throne of Israel was occupied at Menahem's death by Pekahiah, his son, who in turn was slain by Pekah, a general in the northern army.

These changes only complicated a distressing condition of affairs and sapped Israel's power of resistance to any foreign invader or conqueror. There was also a longing look toward Egypt as the place of possible deliverance from the Assyrian oppressor.

150. But Assyria had its hand on the country. The political and social distress of the northern kingdom is vividly portrayed in the book of Hosea (chaps. iv.-xiv.). The southern kingdom, with all its sturdy kings, its great outward prosperity, and its apparent conservatism, now fell into young and weak hands. Its very prosperity as that in the northern kingdom had supplied the means for the luxury and corruption which followed with such disaster. In this same period we have the beginnings of the prophecies of Isaiah. His spiritual perception discerned the trend of affairs, and his words from Jehovah gave wise counsel in the face of the impending calamities. The invasion of the Syrian, and the Assyrian hosts, and the futility of a league with Egypt, are all open to his keen sense of the situation.

151. Early in the reign of Ahaz, Pekah of the northern kingdom and Rezin of Damascus made a league and probably rebelled against Tiglath-pileser. These two kings, it seems, attempted to force Ahaz into such a coalition. Isaiah's admonition (chap. vii.) was that he should quietly trust in Jehovah and let him control affairs, but the formidable front of the allies, and his vain endeavor to repel their ad-

vances, finally drove him to take refuge in his capital fortress. A portion of the Syrian troops and the Edomites combined and captured Elath on the gulf of Akaba. The allies gradually advanced against the city itself. Ahaz now reduced in territory almost to the walls of Jerusalem itself, was in great terror. Even the strong words of Isaiah were of no encouragement to him. To prevent a crushing defeat and humiliation at the hands of the allied troops now moving on the city Ahaz made a frantic appeal to Tiglath-pileser, whose advance in the North was creating alarm. The purport of his appeal may be seen in his own words (2 Kings xvi. 7; 2 Chron. xxviii. 16): "I am thy slave and thy son." These words are a surrender of his realm and a guarantee of submission and tribute—these in spite of Isaiah's protest and prophecies.

152. Tiglath-pileser's campaign had for its purpose the resubjugation and organization of all the West-land, and still more, the conquest of Egypt. His campaign of 738 had accomplished much, but this one of 734 had for its purpose the securing and completion of that earlier expedition. His line of march seems to have been down the sea-coast as far as Carmel. Thence he entered Palestine through the valley of Jezreel and raided all of the neighboring country. The royal annalist in 2 Kings (xv. 29) says: "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, came and took Ijon and

TIGLATH-PILESER III [illegible]
(From a portrait on the walls of his palace)

Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried them captive to Assyria." Tiglath-pileser's own record, though distressingly fragmentary, seems to confirm this statement in that it speaks of territory on the borders of the "land of Omri," which was annexed to the realm of Assyria.

Tiglath-pileser next advanced against Philistia. "Hanno of Gaza," says he, "took to flight before my troops, and escaped into Egypt." The badly broken text tells intermittently how he captured Gaza, and carried off vast sums of booty and captives to Assyria. On this boundary line he erected his statue symbolizing his sovereignty. In this same fragmentary inscription we come upon a most interesting statement. It shews that the monarch, content with his southern limits, turned his attention to his rebellious foes in the North. His southern campaign had, at least, prevented any alliance of his rebels with Egypt, and he could take his own course in disposing of them. In a fragment of the same inscription quoted above he says (III Rawl. 10, No. 2, 20): "Pekah, their king, they overthrew, Hoshea I appointed over them." The biblical record (2 Kings xv. 30) says: "And Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah, the son of Remaliah and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead." The two records taken together seem to state that Hoshea at the instigation and promise of Tiglath-

pileser, murdered the king of the northern kingdom, and occupied his throne.

153. The order of Tiglath-pileser's movements at this time is not quite certain. But his next stroke after a campaign against Arabia seems to have been against Damascus, the headquarters of his chief rebel, Rezin. This formidable capital and fortress was left for his last great fight. Outside of the city he met and routed the Syrian army (in 733) and drove it within its walls. He states that Rezin fled "like a hunted stag into the city through its great gate," where he was "shut up like a caged bird." The Assyrian army laid waste all the surrounding country, the parks, and the city gardens outside the wall. Important residences, and hundreds of small towns and villages in every direction were captured and pillaged. The sixteen tributary districts of Damascus were made "like heaps in the wake of a storm-flood." This harrowing picture of devastation practically concludes the fragmentary record of that campaign. That Damascus was taken and its peoples deported to Assyria seem implied in subsequent hints. And the biblical record (2 Kings xvi. 9f.) confirms this point: "And the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin."

154. This suppression of Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus made Tiglath-pileser master of this southern territory of Syria. The appeal of Ahaz

to Tiglath-pileser, though probably not in its proper chronological order, is noted in Kings just after the record of the fall of Damascus. The great monarch is supposed to have summoned his tributary princes and governors of this West-land to appear before him in the midst of this captive fortress, Damascus. One of the notables at this great gathering was the king of Judah, the ignoble Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 10). He had sent to Tiglath-pileser as a gift, "the silver and the gold which were found in the house of Jehovah and in the king's house." Probably this was simply the first installment of a tribute which thereafter he paid annually into the treasury of Assyria. In a list of his western subjects, Tiglath-pileser includes, among a host of others, these names (II Rawl. 67, 61-62): "Matanbi'il of Arvad, Sanipu of Ammon, Salamanu of Moab, Mitinti of Ashkelon, Ahaz of Judah, Kaushmalak of Edom, ... Hanno of Gaza." These were his tribute-payers, who rendered the same either as the result of conquest, or of fear before his imperial majesty.

The last reductions or submissions made by the Assyrian ruler were the coast states of Phœnicia. These freely paid him an enormous tribute, and with his vast treasures Tiglath-pileser returned to his eastern capital.

155. The remaining four years of his life were spent in the East. The peoples of Babylonia, the Chaldæans, presented a very obstinate resistance to

his authority, but by the end of two years he succeeded in establishing his power and in so transporting the population as to avoid immediate rebellion. The last two years of his life were spent in extending his architectural schemes, building and beautifying his palaces and temples, and in recording the annals of his reign. His last days were spent in peace and quiet, and in the enjoyment of his well-won victories, and his abundant resources. His reign meant for Israel the end of all independence, the position of a subaltern after chastisement, and the humiliation of a petty province. For Assyria, his reign meant strong organization, better unification of the peoples conquered, and vigorous transportation of rebels as a prevention against future uprisings.

CHAPTER XV

SARGON II AND THE FALL OF SAMARIA

156. Tiglath-pileser III died, and was succeeded, probably, by his son, Shalmaneser IV in 727 B. C. Up to the present time we are so unfortunate as not to have discovered any documents or annals which this king may have prepared. In the Old Testament, however, we have two distinct references to him and to the part that he took in the final overthrow of Samaria. The Israelitish king on the throne was Hoshea, the appointee of Tiglath-pileser (152). Shalmaneser's relation with Hoshea is summed up in these biblical statements (2 Kings xvii. 3-6): "[3] Against him [Hoshea] came up Shalmaneser, king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant, and brought him presents. [4] And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So (or Seve), king of Egypt, and offered no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year: therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison. [5] Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years. [6] In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and

carried Israel away unto Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, *on* the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." The next account is found in connection with Hezekiah's reign (2 Kings xviii. 9-11). [9] And it came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah, which was the seventh year of Hoshea, son of Elah, king of Israel, that Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, came up against Samaria and besieged it. [10] And at the end of three years they took it: even in the sixth year of Hezekiah, which was the ninth year of Hoshea, king of Israel, Samaria was taken. [11] And the king of Assyria carried Israel away into Assyria, and put them in Halah, and in Habor, *on* the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." Aside from material for checking the dates, these records are practically one and the same.

157. The political situation which led to this final act is gathered from contemporaneous records. It appears that Hoshea, always loyal to his old master, Tiglath-pileser III, had become involved in political intrigues of a serious nature. The death of Tiglath-pileser had allowed Hoshea to turn his eyes in other directions. An embassy was sent, not to the Pharaoh of Egypt, himself, but to Shabi, a petty king on the eastern frontier of the delta. Hanno of Gaza had returned from his exile, and probably by the support of Shabi succeeded in wresting his throne from the Assyrian governors. He was then most likely to take other steps to further his influence in Asia.

Since Shishak's invasion of Rehoboam's realm, the Egyptians had not invaded Palestine. Change of rulers on the Tigris gave So, Shabi of the delta, his opportunity. Doubtless these western rulers were quite willing to enter a coalition against Assyria, and to combine with their near neighbors in Egypt.

158. Rumors of rebellion, along with refusals to pay the usual annual tribute, reached the ears of Shalmaneser. The Assyrian army, together with the provincial garrisons, adopted means for suppressing it. The mere presence and demand of the Assyrian officials brought Hoshea to his knees, and he paid the tribute. We must note also that Hoshea, notwithstanding his pretended submission to Shalmaneser, had already sent to Shabi, of the delta of Egypt, to consummate a league. Simultaneously, apparently, he refused to pay further tribute to Assyria. This precipitated the plans of Shalmaneser, and Hoshea was seized, either in battle or in his capital, thrown into chains and imprisoned. His place of confinement and his fate are as yet unknown. The land of Israel was raided and its capital, Samaria, besieged. Whatever combination may have been effected with the king of Egypt, it availed nothing for Israel. Her capital was doomed before the invincibles of Assyria.

159. The statements in the biblical records (2 Kings xviii. 9-11) seem to say that the king of Assyria, who laid siege to Samaria, also captured it. But that credit is claimed by Sargon II, the suc-

cessor of Shalmaneser IV, in December, 722 B. C. The change in the occupants of the Ninevite throne, apparently, brought about slight disturbances in the empire. The armies of occupation and siege remained faithful at their posts, and the stability of the government was not endangered. Sargon's records are very full, and specify among the events of the first year of his reign this one (Winckl. Pl. 1, 10 ff.): "The city of Samaria I besieged, I captured; 27, 290 of its inhabitants I carried away captive; fifty chariots therein I took for myself, but the remainder (of the people) I allowed to retain their possessions. I appointed my governor over them, and the tribute of the preceding king I imposed upon them." This record supplements the Kings account, in that it supplies the name of the captor, and specifies the number of inhabitants carried away. This record omits, while the biblical account names, the places to which they were carried. In addition to this, 2 Kings (xvii. 24f.) speaks of the special importations by which this territory was repeopled, and the syncretistic worship which sprang up among them.

160. The downfall and deportation of Samaria marked the last stage in the history of the northern kingdom. From the close of the reign of Jeroboam II it had rapidly declined. It had fallen into the hands of Assyrian monarchs, been raided, plundered, oppressed, and almost strangled to death. Its final appeal to Shabi the frontier king of Egypt, signed

SARGON II (722-705 B. C.)
CAPTOR OF SAMARIA, 722 B. C.

its death-warrant. Its disappearance, its denationalization, was the most eloquent answer to the religious and political policies established and perpetuated by the successive usurpers of its throne. "The Ten Tribes" that were distributed throughout the Assyrian domain, were assimilated, as were the few country people who remained in the land, with their neighbors. Their captivities extended over many years of time, and their amalgamation with their nearest neighbors was rapid and complete. The literary fiction of the discovery of the "lost ten tribes," has assumed great prominence in some circles. But any one who has acquainted himself with Assyria's methods of government, with the wide distribution and assimilation of the Israelitish captives, and the utter impossibility of preserving intact the identity of those tribes as a whole, will recognize the futility of any attempt to find them. That members of certain tribes, and many of them, took advantage of Cyrus' decree is certain. But there is no people or nation or tongue to-day who can be identified as "the lost ten tribes."

161. Sargon's incumbency of the throne was put to the test very early in his reign. The malcontents of Babylonia demanded vigorous movement on the part of his army. An indecisive, yet terrific, battle was fought on Babylonian soil. Sargon temporarily abandoned this district for the West-land. In 720, he found that Hamath, in the extreme north, was

in revolt. Ilubi'id, the leader, had as his allies among others, the peoples of Arpad, Damascus and Samaria. At Karkar he met them and victoriously defeated them, flaying alive their rebel leader. Suspicious that the king of Egypt was inspiring these rebellious uprisings, Sargon pushed his way down along the Mediterranean sea-coast. Hanno, of Gaza, again, as in Tiglath-pileser's reign, fled to Egypt. The allied Egyptian army came to his relief, but Sargon completely overthrew them at Raphia, on the coast-line (720 B. C.). Shabi, the Egyptian, withdrew to the Nile, while Sargon carried his captive king of Gaza and his booty back to Assyria.

162. Sargon occupied his time during the next eight years in reconquering, reorganizing and unifying his realm. One or two significant remarks in his records are worthy of notice just here. In 717 Carchemish, the headquarters of the Hittites for many centuries, fell before his arms, and yielded an innumerable booty. He sent an army also to penetrate the Arabian desert and to bring under his sway its numerous peoples. In 715 his records read (Annals, 94-99): "The tribes of Tamud and Ibadid, Marsiman and Chayapa, far-off Arabians, inhabitants of the wilderness, of whom no sage or scholar had known, who had never paid tribute to any king, I smote in the service of Asshur my lord; the rest of them I carried away and settled in Samaria. From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, Samsi, queen of Arabia, and

Ithamar of Sabæa, kings of the sea-coast and of the wilderness, I received as their tribute, gold the product of the mines, precious stones, ivory, *ussu* plants, spices of all sorts, horses and camels." The extent of Sargon's raids and sovereignty, sketched in this excerpt, stretched southward into the Arabian peninsula, and westward to Egypt's borders. There is in fact recognition by the Egyptian king Shabi, of Assyria's sovereignty. These campaigns yielded an enormous revenue to the coffers of Sargon.

163. The name Sargon is mentioned but once in the Old Testament, and that in connection with the next notable campaign (Isa. xx. 1): "In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod, when Sargon, the king of Assyria sent him, and he fought against Ashdod and took it." This vigorous campaign into Philistia took place in the year 711 B. C., and is described in Sargon's own records. It appears that Ashdod was the center of political disturbance, in the southwest, and that the contagion was likely to spread among other neighboring dependencies. Azuri, king of Ashdod, had conspired with neighboring rulers to throw off allegiance to Assyria. Sargon had deposed him and set on the throne his brother, Ahimiti. The aspiring peoples of this section refused to recognize Assyria's representative, and set on the throne Yamani. Sargon's own words are (Winckler's Sargon, pl. 33, l. 101 f.): "But Yamani heard from afar of the coming of my expedition, and fled to the

borders of Egypt, which lies beside Melucha, and it was not found out where he was . . . . . fear of the splendor of my royalty overspread him, and terror was shed forth upon him; he [king of Melucha] threw him into chains, and fetters and bands of iron, and they brought him to Assyria to my presence."

164. In another inscription Sargon tells us of the part taken in this sedition by other provinces of Palestine (Winckler's Sargon, Pl. 44D, 25ff.): [The governors] "of Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab, dwellers by the sea, who paid tribute and gifts to Asshur, planned a rebellion, did not refrain from mischief, for in order to stir up rebellion against me they brought gifts of friendship to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, a prince who was no savior to them, and endeavored to form with him an alliance." The hope of these western rebels was a defensive alliance with Egypt. But Sargon's movements were both too rapid and his strokes too severe to allow such a league to be in any way effective. The peoples of Ashdod were severely punished, and even carried away captive, though there is nothing to indicate that the neighboring states suffered at his hands. The submission of the Egyptian king in sending to Assyria the rebel king Azuri of Ashdod, seemed to guarantee, for a time at least, no further interference from that quarter.

165. The chronological order of events during the

remainder of Sargon's reign is not certainly known. If Hezekiah's sickness immediately followed Sargon's campaign against Ashdod (in 711 B. C.), then Merodach-Baladan's embassy, nominally to congratulate Hezekiah on recovery from his sickness, but really to ascertain the possibility of an alliance against Sargon, took place in 710 B. C. This order is not impossible, for Sargon's next two or three years were spent in fully crushing all of his foes in southern Babylonia. After the conquest and organization of all his long-dreamed-of realm, Sargon sought to perpetuate his fame in another way. He established at Khorsabad, several miles above Nineveh, his royal headquarters. Here he built his enormous palace, uncovered by Botta. He entered this magnificent home in 706 B. C., and in the very next summer was assassinated by one of his own soldiers.

CHAPTER XVI

SENNACHERIB'S WESTERN CAMPAIGN AND HEZEKIAH

166. The assassination of Sargon yielded the throne of Assyria to his son, Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.). Whether this son had anything to do with the intrigue is not known. It is at least significant that the father's name is not found in the records of the son. This king of Assyria, from his frequent mention in the Bible, is most familiar to Bible students. His records of his own campaigns, his conquests, his cruelties, modify in no important respect the character attributed to him by the books of Kings and Isaiah.

167. The earlier activities of Sennacherib were confined to his eastern and southern boundaries. He measured lances with the irrepressible Chaldeans of the South. His own brother, whom he had put upon the throne of Babylon, was displaced by a usurper; and this usurper, after one month, was deposed by Merodach-Baladan. Sennacherib swooped down on the intriguing army of seceders and crushed them, and established his authority in lower Babylonia. To secure himself still further, he captured and pillaged seventy-five cities and 420 villages; 208,000 captives,

SENNACHERIB AT THE HEAD OF HIS ARMY

with nearly a million large and small cattle, he deported to Assyria. As a kind of figure-head, he placed on the throne of Babylon Bel-ibni, while the country of Chaldæa was under a military governor. With these temporary rulers in power, Sennacherib returned to Nineveh.

168. The most stupendous Assyrian campaign touching the Old Testament occurred in 701 B. C. Sennacherib tells his story in simple yet eloquent words (Taylor Cyl. col. II. l. 34 f.):

"In my third campaign, I marched to the land of the Hittites. Luli, king of Sidon, — the glory of my majesty overpowered him, and he fled to a distant place in the midst of the sea, and I put his land (under my yoke). Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Beth-Ziti, Sarepta, Machalliba, Ushu, Achzib, Akko, his strong cities, his fortresses, granaries, reservoirs, barracks, — the might of the weapons of Asshur my lord overwhelmed them, and they threw themselves at my feet. Ithobal on the throne of royalty I set over them. Tribute and offerings of my sovereignty yearly, without fail, I imposed upon him. As to Menahem of Samsiruna, Ithobal of Sidon, Abdili'tu of Arvad, Urumilku of Byblos, Mitinti of Ashdod, Pudu'il the Beth-Ammonite, Chemoshnadab the Moabite, Malikram the Edomite, all the kings of the West-land, regions wide-extended, their weighty gifts with (other) things, they brought before me and kissed my feet. And Zedekia, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke — his ancestral gods, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his kindred, I took away and deported to Assyria. Sharludari, son of Rukiptu, their former king, I set over the people of Ashkelon: the rendering of tribute and gifts of my sovereignty I imposed upon him, and so he became my vassal. In the course of my campaign, Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Bene-Berak, Azur, cities of

Zedekia, which had not promptly thrown themselves at my feet, I besieged. I took, I carried off their spoil. The lords, the nobles, and people of Ekron, who had cast into fetters Padi their king, against their covenants and oath to Assyria, and had turned him over with hostile intent to Hezekiah of Judah (and he shut him up in a dungeon) — feared in their hearts. The kings of Egypt, and the archers, chariots, and horses of the king of Melucha, a countless army, they invoked, and they came to their relief. In front of Elteke they drew up in battle array against me, and appealed to their weapons. With the support of Asshur my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. The commander of the chariot and the sons of the Egyptian king, together with the commander of the chariots of the king of Melucha my hands took alive in the thick of the fight. Elteke and Timnath I besieged and took and carried off their spoil.

(Col. III.) "(Again) I drew near to Ekron; the lords and the nobles who had committed sin I slew, and on stakes all around the city I impaled their corpses. The people of the city who had done crime and wickedness I took captive. The rest of them who had not committed sin and wickedness, and who were not guilty, I set free. Padi, their king, I brought out from the midst of Jerusalem, and set him upon the throne of dominion over them, and the tribute of my sovereignty I imposed upon him.

169. "But Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke — forty-six of his fenced cities and fortresses, and small towns in their vicinity without number, by breaking them down with battering rams, and the blows of . . . . . and the strokes of axes and hammers, I besieged and took; 200,150 persons, small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, large cattle, small cattle, without number, I brought forth from the midst of them, and counted as spoil. As for Hezekiah himself, like a bird in a cage, in Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut him up. I threw up forts against him, and whoever would come out of the gate of the city I turned back. His cities,

which I had spoiled, I cut off from his land, and gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, Zil-bel, king of Gaza, and so made small his territory. To the former tribute, the gifts payable each year, the presents due to my sovereignty, I made an addition and imposed it upon him (them). As for Hezekiah himself, the fear of the glory of my sovereignty overwhelmed him; and the Arabs and his other allies, whom he had brought to strengthen Jerusalem, the city of his royal residence, deserted him. Thirty talents of gold, and eight hundred talents of silver, . . . great stores of lapis-lazuli, couches of ivory, arm-chairs of ivory [covered (!)] with elephant's hide, ivory tusks, *ussu* wood, *urkarinu* wood, and the like, an immense treasure; and his daughters, his palace-women, men-singers, women-singers, to Nineveh, my royal city, I made him bring; and for the delivery of the tribute, and rendering homage, he sent his ambassador."

170. This is Sennacherib's record of that memorable western campaign. Its character is not different from that of other Assyrian annals of this period. The Assyrian annalist presents his views of the campaign, or at least as much of it as he wished to appear in the records of his lord. It is scarcely to be expected that he would have recorded anything that would in any way discount the valor or the glory of the Assyrian troops. The biblical record, on the other hand, describes the expedition from the view-point of Judah's annalist. In some respects the Assyrian and biblical records supplement each other. But in other respects they leave great gaps unfilled. They can, however, be so harmonized as to present a reasonably complete story of this campaign.

171. The object of Sennacherib's campaign lies well on the surface. It is apparent from his own records that he was on an errand of resubjugation. The Phœnician and the Philistine cities had thrown off the yoke of Assyria. Even the few among them who had remained faithful, were forced to join the coalition, as was the case with the authorities in Ekron. Their king, Padi, was thrown into chains and delivered to Hezekiah, who lodged him in a dungeon in Jerusalem. In fact, the whole chain of cities on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, including Jerusalem, were parties to this uprising. A careful study of the situation shows that there was another element of disturbance, possibly one of the chief elements in the whole movement. Sennacherib's own records, and the prophecies of Isaiah (chaps. xxx.-xxxi.), unite in attributing no small part to Egypt. Tirhakah, as his forefathers, was not slow to take advantage of every step toward Asia. Doubtless these rebellious provinces of Assyria saw that alone they could not face the armies of Assyria, and that their only hope of permanent release from her yoke, would be in an alliance with some strong power like Egypt. The Egyptian party at Jerusalem, in spite of Isaiah's protests, despatched ambassadors to the Nile-land to conclude a treaty. From the general political situation, it seems that Hezekiah was a leader in this event, and that this embassy was acting not for Judah alone, but for the combined allies of the West-land. The

direct purpose of Sennacherib then was the chastisement and suppression of all the former subjects of Assyria on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and indirectly, yet not so indirectly, the conquest of Egypt.

172. According to his own statement he begins his triumphal march by citing the readiness with which some of the Phœnician rulers prostrated themselves at his feet. He stormed and took by force every one that resisted his demands. Not a word is said about Tyre unless it is referred to as "in the midst of the sea." It appears that his presence in this country was sufficient to call for the submission of every tribe, who did not feel equal to a fight with Assyrian warriors. We find among those who embraced his feet representatives of Sidon, of Arvad, and of Byblos in Phœnicia, also of Ashdod, of the Ammonites, of the Moabites, and of the Edomites. With these loyal cities and provinces already in hand, Sennacherib advanced against the aggressive rebels of Philistia and Jerusalem. Ashkelon and its subject cities first suffered defeat and deportation, and a former king, faithful to Assyria, whom the anti-Assyrian leaders had deposed, was restored to his throne. The next stroke was made at Ekron, whose king, loyal to Assyria, had been imprisoned by Hezekiah in Jerusalem. In the midst of the siege, apparently, the approach of the Egyptian army is announced.

173. Tirhakah had learned of the invasion of Sen-

nacherib, and, either in faithfulness to his alliance with these rebel states of Assyria, or as a check on the southwestern advance of the Assyrian conqueror, mustered his troops and moved toward Philistia. His army, strengthened by the forces of the governor of the Sinaitic peninsula, was drawn up in battle array at Elteke. Sennacherib's army withdrew from Ekron, moved southward, and met them full in the front. The issue of the combat, according to his account, was the defeat of the Egyptian army, and the capture of some of its chief officers. But the Assyrian seems not to have taken advantage of this victory, or at least not to have made record of any which he may have taken.

174. After his defeat of the Egyptians, Sennacherib renewed his siege of rebellious Ekron. The city soon succumbed to his assaults, and was most severely and cruelly punished. The rebels were impaled on stakes all around the city, and the innocent were set free. The old king, whom Hezekiah had imprisoned in Jerusalem, was restored to his throne and laid under tribute to Assyria. It is strange, and yet instructive, to find that some of Sennacherib's movements in this plain are not mentioned in his annals thus far discovered. On the walls of his own palace in Nineveh we find, recorded in pictures only, some of the most important actions of this campaign. Among these are the beautiful representations of the siege of Lachish, the reception of its submissive pop-

THE STORMING OF LACHISH BY THE TROOPS OF SENNACHERIB (2 Kings xviii. 13, 14, 17; xix. 8)
(Sculpture on the walls of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh)

ulation, and a long line of valuable booty being transferred to Nineveh. The first of these, shown in the accompanying cut, explains how the Assyrian army stormed and captured a strong fortress. Having thrown up an embankment of earth, they placed upon it several layers of stone-flagging, upon which they could operate their heavy battering-rams. The enemy on the walls rained torches upon the besiegers, but these were harmless because an attendant on the ram continually poured over it a stream of water. At the foot of the mound, we see expert slingers, who are taking their part in the assault, while others are undermining the walls of the city.

175. Sennacherib's records are not clear as to the exact time of his ravaging of Judah. His summary presents an appalling result of that raid. Forty-six walled cities and fortresses, with countless villages, fell before his assaults, and battering-rams. Two hundred thousand, one hundred and fifty captives and an innumerable host of cattle were taken as the spoil of war. After having ravaged and plundered this territory, he besieged Jerusalem, the capital of the arch-rebel, Hezekiah. He boasts of having shut up Hezekiah "like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem," and of having controlled the gates of the city. But he nowhere claims to have taken the king or his capital. His boasts are (1) that he cut off Hezekiah's territory, and assigned it to three kings of the Philistine territory; (2) that Hezekiah and his allies were over-

whelmed with the fear of his majesty, and (3) that he sent after him to Nineveh a great mass of valuable tribute, including even members of the royal court. This in epitome is Sennacherib's story of his great western campaign touching Jerusalem, as it appears in modern form. Let us now see how it relates itself to the biblical account.

176. The biblical record (2 Kings xviii. 13) says: "In the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib, king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them." This verse has been a thorn in the flesh of biblical students. (1) If the statement is to stand as it now reads, then Hezekiah began to reign in 715 B. C., and we must erase at least three statements regarding the synchronism of the reigns of Hezekiah and Hoshea (2 Kings xviii. 1, 9, 10). (2) If Sennacherib were mere commander-in-chief of Sargon's army, the statement may refer to Sargon's reduction of Ashdod, though its statements are rather too sweeping to describe that campaign. (3) If for the name "Sennacherib" we substitute that of "Sargon," the difficulty is relieved though not dissipated. It is not impossible that the compiler of Kings, finding but a single verse that referred to Sargon's Ashdod campaign, put that with its chronological mark at the head of his record of Sennacherib's campaigns; and, knowing nothing of the earlier raid, deliberately changed the name to Sennacherib as the great figure in Assyria's relation

to Hezekiah. (4) One of the documents left by Sargon dates his campaign against Ashdod in the ninth year of his reign (713); if to this be added the year of Hezekiah's reign given in this verse, the resultant is 727 B. C. But no one of these explanations is clear of difficulties, and it is probably better to refer the verse, in spite of its mark of chronology, to the campaign of Sennacherib (701 B. C.).

177. Taking 2 Kings xviii. 13 as introductory to the whole account we discover in the next verse that Hezekiah was not tardy in attempting to avert the approaching disaster. The chronological order of this event is not certain, though it probably occurred early in Sennacherib's movements in Philistia. Hezekiah sent his embassy to the Assyrian king to Lachish (cf. 174), saying: "I have offended: return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear." The gift was specified. Hezekiah, by emptying the treasuries of the temple and the king's house, and cutting off the gold-plate of the door-posts of the temple, sent thirty talents of gold and 300 talents of silver to buy off Sennacherib. Instead of being satisfied with this enormous sum of money, the king of Assyria aspired to take possession of a city which could pour out on demand such a mass of precious metal. Accordingly he sent a detachment of his troops from Lachish to demand entire surrender of the Judean capital (2 Kings xviii. 17; xix. 8). The Rabshakeh having asked for an audience with Judean representa-

tives, three of Hezekiah's officers met them outside the city. The Assyrian general made a bold demand for immediate surrender. He ridiculed their confidence in Egypt, and scorned their trust in Jehovah, since the gods of no land had been able to stand before them. He discounted their own strength, and appealed directly to the people to give up their vain hope of successful resistance. Having spread consternation and sorrow in Jerusalem, the army withdrew to Philistia, and found that Lachish had already fallen, and Libnah was now under siege.

178. At this time, it appears, a courier announced the approach of the Egyptian army. Sennacherib now sent messengers with a letter to Hezekiah, affirming the utter futility of further resistance, as no gods had ever been able to stand before Assyrian arms. The letter doubtless told of the helplessness of their Egyptian allies, and the certainty of their overthrow. Hezekiah is so perplexed that he resorts to the temple and spreads the letter before Jehovah. As in the case of the first demand for surrender, the prophet Isaiah comes to the rescue and holds up the faith of the king, and points out that dire vengeance is on the track of the Assyrian robber, and that it will overtake his army, and finally murder him himself in his own land. The next statement after Isaiah's words to Hezekiah tells of the terrible calamity that befell the Assyrian army. "And the angel of the Lord went forth and smote in the camp of the

Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses" (Isaiah xxxvii. 36). This is presumably supported also by another passage (Isa. xvii. 14): "At eventide behold terror; *and* before the morning they are not. This is the portion of them that spoil us and the lot of them that rob us."

179. Sennacherib's own records make no mention of serious disaster to his troops in the Southwest. But several significant events combine to corroborate the biblical narrative. In the first place, a tradition preserved in Herodotus (II, 141) relates that "Sanacherib, king of the Assyrians and Arabians," led a great army against Egypt. This military move seems to have been subsequent to the subjugation of Philistia and Judea, and a final stroke to secure one of the ultimate objects of his expedition—the conquest of Egypt. The tradition states that the Egyptian army was made up of artisans and merchants, and that in great fear they encamped at Pelusium, within range of the enemy. The enemy's camp was completely overrun by an army of field mice, which gnawed apart all of their leather trappings, such as bow-strings, quivers, and shield-straps. On the next morning, with only fragments of weapons, the Assyrian troops were routed, put to flight, and many of them slain. This tradition has some basis, doubtless, in fact, and is an echo of some calamity to the Assyrian army. In the second place,

Sennacherib's record, as given above (169), gilds the termination of his campaign by giving the astounding array of booty turned over by Hezekiah, though the biblical record locates such a gift at the time of the siege of Lachish, some time before the conclusion of his expedition. Again, there is a mystery hanging about the results of this vast campaign. Although Sennacherib subjugated the entire eastern coast-line of the Mediterranean Sea, and carried off countless booty, and levied tribute on the conquered cities and provinces, there is no hint in his records during the remaining twenty years of his reign that he ever again visited this territory. It seems that some spectre haunted his memory and blighted his ambition regarding the final conquest of Egypt.

180. Now we are enabled to see wherein the two records agree, and in what respects they may be dovetailed. Both agree (1) if we count in the pictures in the Ninevite palace, that Sennacherib laid siege to Lachish; (2) that Hezekiah, as a rebel, sent a handsome gift (or tribute) to purchase the favor of the king of Assyria, though differing as to the time; (3) that Egypt was an ally of Judah, upon whom she leaned for support at this time; (4) by implication only, that some disaster suddenly cut short Sennacherib's campaign and conquests. The remaining statements of the two records vividly paint their own pictures. The remarkable thing is the fact that the records so fully corroborate each other—that the

SUPPOSED JEWISH CAPTIVES AT WORK AS SLAVES
IN NINEVEH

Assyrian king and the compiler of Kings agree in so many particulars, and introduce so few new difficulties.

181. Sennacherib's reign was marked by many cruel, inhuman, and almost fiendish acts, such as the awful destruction of Babylon, which returned in vengeance upon his own head. His death was a characteristic oriental court tragedy. While worshiping at the shrine of his god Nisroch ("Nusku," in Assyrian), he is brutally assassinated by his two sons (2 Kings xix. 37). The Babylonian chronicle speaks of only one as the assassin. This was the concluding act of an insurrection in Nineveh. Neither of these two guilty sons succeeded to the throne of their father. The aspiring assassins were younger sons of the great monarch, but, nevertheless, hopeful that their deed would command general approval and win for one of them the throne of the empire. But, cruel as is man, justice always pronounces the final sentence.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LAST CENTURY AND THE FALL OF ASSYRIA

182. The death of Sennacherib and the accession of his son marked the opening of a new era in the history of the Assyrian empire. The biblical record (2 Kings xix. 37) states that the assassins of Sennacherib "escaped into the land of Ararat, and Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead." This two-line notice covers a multitude of events. Fortunately, we have a brief inscription in the Babylonian chronicle that gives us a fragmentary portraiture of the political situation. "In the month of Tebet (December, 681 B. C.), the 20th day, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was slain by his son in an insurrection. Twenty-three years Sennacherib administered the kingdom of Assyria. From the twentieth day of the month Tebet until the second day of the month Adar (February, 680), the insurrection prevailed in Assyria. In the month Sivan (May, 680), the eighteenth day, Esarhaddon his son seated himself upon the throne in Assyria." The power of the insurrection in Nineveh was broken at the end of one month and a half. But the new king, who was probably occupied in suppressing rebellious subjects outside of Nineveh,

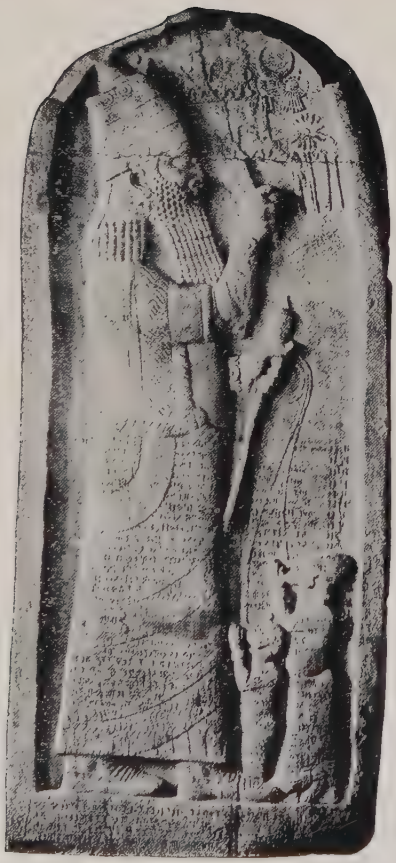
was not formally installed as king until five months after the murder of his father.

183. This new king inaugurated a new policy of administration and control. He sought to restore to prosperity the Babylon and Babylonia which Sennacherib had so wantonly and cruelly laid waste and destroyed. He conciliated the population of that region by restoring to their former position the humiliated gods of Babylon. He lifted the royal city out of its wasteness and ruin, and made it the proud abode of Nebo and Merodach. He declared himself ruler of Babylon, but subordinate to those chief deities. His popular policy elevated him at once in the estimation of the people, and gave him almost undisputed command of this territory. His next move (678 B. C.) was toward the West-land. Phœnicia was the first to feel his power, and readily yielded, except the island city, Tyre. No resistance of any kind seems to have interfered with his southward march, until he struck the Arabian desert. Here he spent presumably two years (675-674 B. C.) in the subjugation of Arab tribes on the east and southeast of the Gulf of Akaba, and in the Sinaitic peninsula. These conquests cut off from Egypt all supplies and allies from their eastern friends and dependencies, and made Esarhaddon master of all the eastern roads to Egypt.

184. The Babylonian chronicle mentions two expeditions of this king into the Nile-land. The first

occurred in 673, without, apparently, any secure results. The second took place in 670: "In the tenth year in the month Nisan the troops of Assyria marched against Egypt." The same Ethiopian king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, Tirhakah, who met Sennacherib (in 701) at Elteke, was on the throne. Several successive battles were fought. The Egyptians, though constantly retreating, presented a checking resistance. At last Memphis was reached, and fell after a half-day's siege. As a warning and a terror to their antagonists, the Assyrians plundered and destroyed this old capital. Tirhakah fled to his native land, while all Egypt now laid down arms before the indomitable Assyrian. The dream of former Assyrian rulers had materialized. Egypt now became an Assyrian province, administered by Assyrian officers. Esarhaddon's only regret was that Tyre could not be taken. On its island rock it stood out alone in open defiance of the new world-conqueror.

185. This new victor, though king less than thirteen years, surpassed the record of all his predecessors. He numbered among his subjects the most cultured nations of that day. The ruling king of Judah was Manasseh, whose record is such a blot on the story of the kings of Israel. His allegiance to Assyria was undoubtedly avowed on the first appearance of Esarhaddon before the Phœnician cities. In a list of twenty-two royal subjects in the Westland and the island of Cyprus, we find "Manasseh,



ESARHADDON, KING OF ASSYRIA (681-668 B. C.)
(Representing the submission of Tirhakah (Ethiopian king of Egypt 704-663 B. C., 2 Kings xix. 9), the smaller figure, and of Baal, king of Tyre, to his authority. They are held by thongs passed through their lips)

king of Judah," also the rulers of Edom, Moab, Gaza, Ekron, Byblos, Beth-Ammon, Mitinti, king of Ashkelon, and Ahimelech, king of Ashdod. The brief records of Kings are silent on the political relations of Manasseh. The literary artist has exhausted his dark colors in portraying the infamy of his idolatrous career. Esarhaddon's supremacy continued in this territory until his untimely death in 668, while on another expedition to his rich and valuable province, Egypt.

186. Esarhaddon's son, Assurbanipal, was his successor on the throne of Assyria. One of his first tasks was to quell the uprisings instigated by Tirhakah in his Egyptian province. His Egyptian campaign was apparently entirely successful. Tirhakah's troops were routed, and the country reconquered as far as Thebes. Upon the withdrawal of the main Assyrian army, malcontents arose in the delta and plotted rebellion, but were duly suppressed, slain with barbarous cruelty, and their leaders carried to Nineveh. But the disaffected could not be satisfied. Another open rebellion broke out, which required for its arrest the presence of the main Ninevite army. This campaign was conducted with terrific severity and celerity. The rebels retreated in hot haste to the south, to Thebes. At the approach of the Assyrians they fled up the Nile. Thebes was mercilessly pillaged, and the Egyptian army pursued and defeated at Kipkip, the capital of Nubia (662).

This completed the subjugation of all Egypt, and the Assyrian army, loaded with trophies, returned to their capital, Nineveh. This event marked the culmination of Assyrian supremacy in the Nile-land. The next few years saw their power honeycombed and on the wane. With the rise of Psammetichus I, strengthened by a force of voluntary allies, Assyria was obliged to relinquish her claims on Egypt. Isaiah xix. is a rough sketch of the Assyrian domination of this old civilization.

187. The king of Assyria had problems enough in the East to occupy his whole time. His own brother on the vassal throne of Babylon had long dreamed of a kingdom all his own. Early in his reign he had planned to accomplish just this thing. But the close attention of the Ninevite king to the details of the administration of Babylon, as well as to the government of neighboring provinces, furnished no opportune moment for such a stroke. The barbarity, too, which was visited upon rebel officers served to check any move which might endanger his authority. But the time ripened, and the long-laid schemes were brought to fruition. The entire southern and southwestern provincial dependencies of Assyria struck for freedom and independence, probably with Shamash-shum-ukin, the king's brother, as their leader. Assurbanipal presents his side of the case in the following statement (Rassam Cyl. col. iii. 96-108):

"Yet he, Shamash-shum-ukin, an unfaithful

brother, who did not observe the covenant made with me, incited the people of Accad, the Chaldæans, the Aramæans, the people of the sea-land from Akaba to Bab-Salameti, my servants and subjects, to rebel against me. Ummanigash, the fugitive, who had embraced my royal feet, whom I set on the throne of Elam, and the kings of Guti, of the West-land, of Melucha, whom I had installed by the warrant of Asshur and Beltis,—all of these he set at enmity against me, and they made common cause with him. The gates of Sippar, Babylon, and Borsippa he barred, and cancelled the bond of brotherhood."

188. The stupendous revolt was charged to the aspiring and invidious brother on the throne of Babylon. The regular army of Assyria promptly sensed the situation, and just as vigorously struck at Babylonia, the head of the rebellion. The rebels were repulsed in battle after battle, and the territory of Babylonia so foraged and pillaged as to cut off the resources of the rebel headquarters. The heavily-walled cities of Sippar, Cutha, and Borsippa fell before the intrepid warriors of Nineveh. The capital city in which the rebel brother resided was finally forced to fall. The inhuman barbarities executed upon rebels in other cities led Shamash-shum-ukin to withdraw into his palace and apply the torch to his own funeral pyre. This put an end to the devastation of country and cities in Babylonia. Assurbanipal then became undisputed king of Babylon, in

648 B. C. The permanency of his authority, however, was not assured until he had scourged Elam and plundered the rich treasures of its capital city, Susa (cf. 235).

189. The record of Assurbanipal mentions, as other parties to the revolt, certain peoples of the West-land. Just how valuable they were to the designs of the leader is not apparent. But Sennacherib and Esarhaddon emphasized the importance of their conquests in Arabia and Melucha (that is, the Sinaitic peninsula). Even the battle of the allies against Shalmaneser II at Karkar (in 854 B. C.) had a detachment of Arabian troops. We even find in Assurbanipal's reports that a certain Arab chief on the east of Palestine, Wateh-ben-Hazael, had sent two of his chiefs with a troop of cavalry to assist in the Babylonian uprising. Of all the peoples of Palestine, none were of more importance as allies than those of Judah, with their strongly fortified capital, Jerusalem. The king now on the throne was Manasseh, a former vassal of Esarhaddon. From all the statements and hints in the cuneiform records, from the general political condition of this West-land, Manasseh was involved in this rebellion against the king of Assyria.

190. This western branch of the uprising occupied the next attention of Assurbanipal. To meet the conditions promptly and decisively, the Assyrian army made one of the most remarkable marches re-

corded in all oriental history. To save time, and to avoid the publicity necessitated by a march over the regular caravan routes, and to strike the rebels unawares, the army crossed the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and plunged through the Syro-Arabian desert. This daring feat permitted them to strike suddenly and victoriously the peoples of Nebaioth and their allies, whom they carried captive to Damascus. In quick succession the Assyrians chastized and plundered all the rebels, carrying multitudes of them into captivity. The host of cattle and camels driven to Nineveh was so great, according to their reports, that it filled all the land.

191. That Manasseh had been tributary to Assurbanipal is attested by the fact that we find "Manasseh, king of Judah" in a list of twenty-two of his vassal kings in the West-land. It is not identical with that of Esarhaddon's (185), as it contains, in some cases, other names than those in his list. In 2 Chronicles (xxxiii. 10-13) we read: "And Jehovah spoke to Manasseh and to his people; but they gave no heed. Wherefore Jehovah brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh in chains, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon. And when he was in distress he besought Jehovah his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers. And he prayed unto him; and he was entreated of him, and he heard his supplication, and brought him

again to Jerusalem into his kingdom." The raid of the Assyrian captains is here charged to the heedlessness of Manesseh to the injunctions of Jehovah. Doubtless the prophets had warned him against taking any part in the rebellion already described. It is suggested that he may not have gone further than to confer with the powerful Arab tribes regarding such an attempt, as was made, to throw off Assyria's yoke. At any rate, he was seized and carried in true Assyrian fashion to Babylon, of which Assurbanipal had just announced himself king (648 B. C.). The Chronicles record states that upon repentance he was restored to the throne. This is not improbable, since we know that this same Assyrian king carried captive to Nineveh a certain Egyptian rebel, Necho, and afterward restored him to his former seat of power. It is of no consequence that this incident is not mentioned in the Assyrian annals. It was only of minor importance, and merited no notice at the hands of the great Assyrian recorder.

192. It is manifestly impossible and quite beyond our purpose in this connection to follow Assurbanipal in detail to the end of his career. He had now lost Egypt, but had succeeded in putting down the rebellion which had involved all of his southern and southwestern possessions. The northern peoples, east and west, had also achieved their independence, leaving to Assyria merely the great valley of the two rivers and the peoples of the West-land. The

compactness of this realm gave him an opportunity so to organize his government as to insure its permanency. But this he failed to do. Peace was maintained only by the presence of Assyrian troops. The annals of this king do not carry us farther down in his career than 642 B. C., about sixteen years before his death. We know that he turned his latter days largely into literary pursuits. He founded and filled a vast library with copies of the most valuable ancient documents. These were prepared by an army of expert scribes who traveled from city to city in Babylonia, selecting and copying the choicest pieces of literature. To Assurbanipal's energy in this line are we indebted for the creation and deluge tablets discovered at Nineveh (33). The last days of this king are wrapped in obscurity, an obscurity that omens disaster to his great empire, that teems with visions of rising kings and vengeful armies, seeking to blot out the perpetual enemy of their freedom.

193. Southwestern Asia, according to Herodotus, suffered a calamity in this period. Hardy mountaineers of the northeast, under the name of Scythians, rolled in waves of invasion down across the mountains of Armenia, the upper plains of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, until bought off on the borders of Egypt. They are described as uncleanly, wandering hordes who lived in rude wagons or in tents, and subsisted on mares' milk and cheese, with an

occasional diet of meat. In battle they were more cruel than a warring Indian. They drank the blood of their victims, hung their scalps as trophies on their bridle reins, and used the tops of their skulls for drinking-cups. Their weapons were bow and arrows, a short spear, and short sword. They foraged the country, plundered and destroyed settlements and villages, and even encountered and defeated strongly armed troops. The ominous silence of all other known records than those of Herodotus leaves us in doubt as to just when or how long these incursions took place. Herodotus' "twenty-eight years" can scarcely seem correct, though the whole period from their first appearance on the Median frontier to their final recession into their mountain steppes of the north may have occupied so much time. The time of this twenty-eight years, as Prof. McCurdy suggests, may have extended from 635-607, a probable date for the fall of Nineveh.

194. If now these Scythian hordes swept across northwestern and western Assyria, with the direful results pictured by Herodotus, we can see the probable effect on the Assyrian provinces. This great empire would lose its western dependencies and draw its outer lines of supremacy nearer its capital. Doubtless Jeremiah (chaps. v. and vi.) has partially in mind the invasions of these mountain marauders, and Ezekiel (chap. xxxviii.) has not forgotten the devastation wrought by their raids. Under the shadow of a de-

clining power Assurbanipal died in 626 B. C. His successor on the throne was Asshur-etil-ilani, about whom we know very little. In the next year, 625, we learn that Nabopolassar, a Chaldæan, was made viceroy of Babylon, a recognition on the part of the Ninevite king, at least, of the importance in Babylonia of the Chaldæan element. This descendant of the irrepressible Merodach-Baladans of former days soon began to lay his plans for achieving independence. The repeated disasters which had fallen upon the revolutionary attempts of his ancestors taught him to move cautiously. The sturdy Medians of the northeast were animated by a like spirit. Negotiations between these two dependencies resulted in a league, which was ratified by the marriage of Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadrezzar, to a Median princess.

195. We have no first-hand information of the immediate results of the Medo-Babylonian combination. But the final issue is certain. This coalition not only secured the independence of its two contracting peoples, but succeeded in trampling to death its former ruler and oppressor. There is no contemporary description of the awful vengeance which overtook the Assyrian capital. But Nabonidus, king of Babylon, 555-538 B. C., has left us his brief account of the overthrow of Assyria by the hardy Median troops (Stele of Nabonidus, col. I): "The king of Assyria, who in Merodach's wrath had wrought the ruin of the land,—the son, the issue of his own body, smote

him with the sword. . . . as a helper he gave him, as an ally he made him possess. The King of Umman-Manda (Medes), who had not an equal, he subdued; at his bidding he made him march to his assistance. [Above] and below, [right] and left, like a flood he overwhelmed; he avenged Babylon; he multiplied corpses. The king of the Umman-Manda the fearless ruined all the temples of the gods of the land of Assyria; and the cities on the border of the land of Accad, which had revolted against the king of Accad, and had not gone to his assistance, he destroyed, and left none of their sanctuaries, he laid waste their cities." The terrific vengeance which must have been dealt out to her can be partially pictured from this brief inscription, from the gruesome sketches of the Old Testament, and from the inevitable action of the law of retribution. We have no means of knowing how long the siege lasted, nor by what assaults her high and heavy walls were finally broken through. But the vigorous young nation gave her the fatal blow that almost wiped her off the face of the earth. The whole city of Nineveh was plundered and burned and left a mass of ruins. Her devastation was so complete and her memory held in such contempt that she was absolutely abandoned to the disintegrating and destructive power of the elements.

196. Assyria was driven to her death in 607 or 606 B. C. Her sudden destruction was a salvation for

us of her priceless treasures. After almost twenty-five centuries of oblivion, her vastness, her majesty, her power, and her cruelty are brought to light and set down beside the character given her by the writers of Holy Writ. Isaiah (v. 25-29 and elsewhere), Nahum, Zephaniah, and others have left us a fragmentary portraiture of the Assyrian, but, as far as it goes, as true to life as that painted by the monarch's own artists. Zephaniah describes the punishment that will be meted out to all the nations, and finally says (ii. 13-15) of Assyria and its capital: "And he will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like the wilderness. And herds shall lie down in the midst of her, all beasts of the nations: both the pelican and the porcupine shall lodge in the chapiters thereof: their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds: for he hath laid bare her cedar work. This is the joyous city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none else beside me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! Every one that passeth by her shall hiss, and wave his hand." Zephaniah saw in the future the fate that would overtake this great city.

197. Nahum is the prophet-artist who gives us the most terrifying and ghastly picture of the final tragedy in the history of Assyria. The vividness and detail, descriptive of methods of defence, of the fruits

of plunder, of the movements of the army in the streets, and of numerous other data, mark this as the work of an eyewitness, or of one very familiar with life in the capital. We see the dash of the enemy, with his glittering and bounding chariots, the flashing of weapons, the prancing of the horses, as the walls are stormed. The defenders prepared a mantelet to meet the assault (ii. 5). But by some means or other, possibly, as sometimes suggested, by the rising and roaring river the walls were undermined or the river-gates carried away. "The palace is dissolved." May it not have been that, like Zimri in Tirzah (1 Kings xvi. 18), or Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylon (188), the king of Assyria, seeing his dread fate so near at hand, preferred to perish in the burnings of his own palace, than by the merciless tortures of an angry foe? The bloody combat and noisy confusion in the streets, result (iii. 3) in "a multitude of slain, and a great heap of carcasses; and there is none end of the corpses; they stumble upon their corpses." "Take ye the spoil of silver, take ye the spoil of gold; for there is none end of the store, the wealth of all goodly furniture" (ii. 9),—gathered from the ends of the earth.

198. "She is empty and void and waste: and the heart melteth, and the knees smite together, and anguish is in all loins, and the faces of them all are waxed pale" (ii. 10). The looker-on is terror-stricken, horrified, unnerved and faint at the sudden doom of

the proud city. "Where is the den of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion and the lioness walked, the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid? The lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his caves with prey, and his dens with ravin" (ii. 11, 12). The nation that roared like a lion (Isa. v. 29), whose chief sport was hunting and slaying lions, and whose ravages were most fittingly compared with those of lions, had suddenly disappeared, and gone forever. With Nahum's final words (iii. 18, 19), we close the chapter: "Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria; thy worthies are at rest: thy people are scattered upon the mountains, and there is none to gather them. There is no assuaging thy hurt; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the report of thee clap the hands over thee; for upon whom has not thy wickedness passed continually?"

CHAPTER XVIII

NEBUCHADREZZAR II AND THE NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

199. The new Babylonian empire arose on the ruins of Assyria. While the combined armies of Babylon and Media were preparing for their final charge against Assyria, a new and ambitious king of Egypt, Necho, cast longing eyes toward western Asia. He resolved to take a hand in the partition of the empire of the hated Assyrians. With firm confidence in his troops he set out for the Euphrates river. Josiah, king of Judah, from what motive we know not, attempted to check his advance. Heedless of the warning given him, he rashly rushed into battle at Megiddo and was carried back to Jerusalem a corpse. Necho reached his northern goal and established himself at Riblah in Hamath, whence he administered the affairs of his newly conquered provinces. Report of his advances now came to the ears of the new authorities at Babylon. The main army under Nabopolassar moved with the Medes under Cyaxares against the city of Nineveh, and encompassed its walls. Somewhere about the time of the fall of Assyria, Nabopolassar's own son, Nebuchad-

rezzar, was sent with a formidable army to strike a blow at Necho.

200. In 605 B. C. the great armies of Egypt and Babylon met near Carchemish to decide the question of the supremacy of southwestern Asia. Necho was defeated (Jer. xlvi.), and with his army was forced to retreat to the land of the Nile. The book of 2 Kings does not describe, but merely refers (xxiv. 7) to the results of this battle. It says (xxiv. 1): "In his [Jehoiakim's] days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years: then he turned and rebelled against him." What was the date of this occurrence? It is commonly held, in the absence of positive information, that Nebuchadrezzar smote and routed the Egyptians, and then retired at once to Babylon to secure himself on the throne. This is not at all improbable. On the other hand, it is not quite consonant with the aggressive character of this young commander, not to take immediate and decisive advantage of this notable victory. It is indeed rather probable that, while he hastened back to Babylon, he sent the main army in pursuit of the fleeing Egyptians, to secure the allegiance of the neighboring peoples of the Westland. Jehoiakim, a sworn vassal of Egypt, would fall naturally under the sway of the new conqueror. Neither is it beyond the range of possibility that this raid of Palestine yielded such fruits of victory as are recorded in Dan. i. 1. The difference of one year

between the dates of Jer. xxv. 1 and Dan. i. 1, always taking account of the possibility of different chronological methods, is of no consequence whatever, except to furnish a basis for an argumentative disagreement. If then the Babylonian army made a rapid march and secured the sovereignty over these western provinces, we have in 605 B. C. the beginning of a captivity of the Jews in Babylon.

201. It is not our purpose to present in full the biblical record of Judah's decline and fall, but to rehearse only so much of it as will illustrate the greatness of the Babylonian empire. The king's presence and army seems to have been demanded for the next several years in Babylonia. Possibly from some secret intrigues with Egypt, his former master, Jehoiakim's allegiance to Babylon was broken off at the end of three years (about 602 B. C). The Chaldean garrisons located at various strategical points, together with small bodies or bands of Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, harassed him on every side, to force him back into his former allegiance. At the end of three or four years (about 598 B. C.) of such warfare the great king Nebuchadrezzar himself led his main army into the West-land. The Old Testament records recite few details of this expedition. Jerusalem itself was visited, and the rebellious king dispatched. The chronicler (2 Chron. xxxvi. 6) states that he was bound in fetters to be carried to Babylon. The compiler of Kings draws a veil over his demise.

Jeremiah, in view of his deceitful, intriguing character, prophesies (xxxvi. 30) that "his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost;" also (xxii. 19) that "he shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast beyond the gates of Jerusalem." It is not inconceivable that all the records are true; that in the general capture of the city he was taken with other captives, that upon examination he still showed a rebellious spirit, and was slain by the order of the king and disgraced by being cast without the city and left unburied.

202. Nebuchadrezzar chose as Jehoiakim's successor, his son Jehoiakin. A very brief period served to test the spirit of the youthful ruler. For within three months his haughtiness and defiance of authority brought upon his capital the Chaldean army. At the approach of the great king, Jehoiakin surrendered, with his queen-mother, "his servants, and his princes and his officers" (2 Kings xxiv. 12). Jerusalem was plundered and immense quantities of booty carried to Babylon. But of most importance for Nebuchadrezzar, who had already projected for Babylonia extensive building schemes, were the seven thousand men of war, one thousand artisans and smiths, and two thousand of the best citizens of Jerusalem. This policy of deportation for the crushing of rebellion was the same as that inaugurated by the Assyrian kings of the eighth century. Nebuchadrezzar's plan served two purposes: it guaranteed, for a period at least, the

respectful submission of this western district, and furnished him the skillful artisans for the execution of his elaborate projects for the rehabilitation of Babylonia.

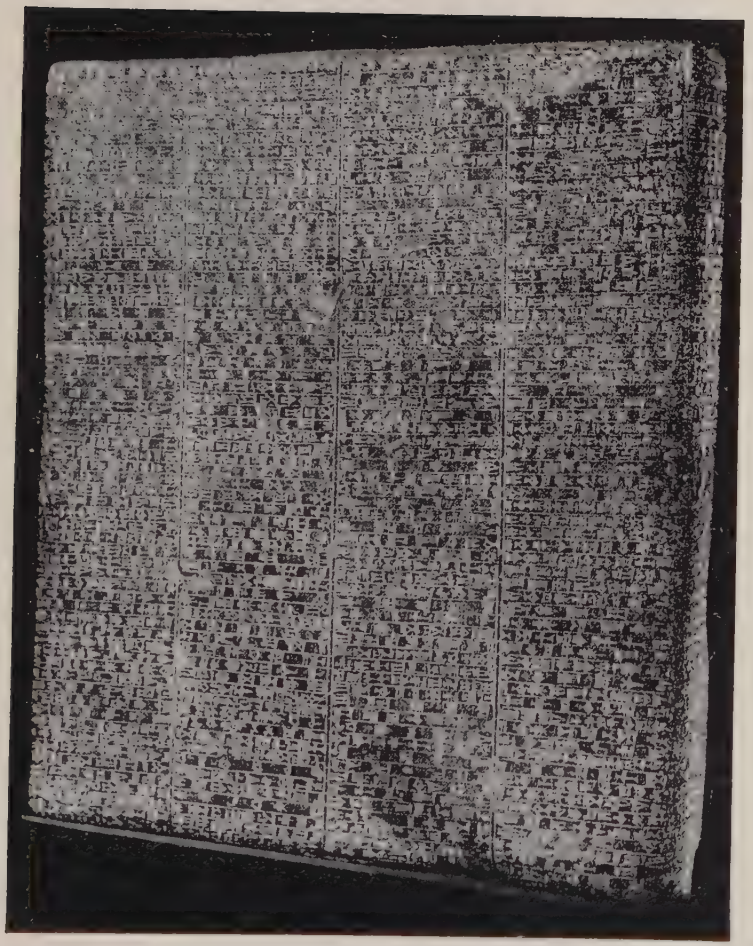
203. Out of the leavings of the population Mattaniah, with his name changed to Zedekiah, a younger son of Josiah, was set on the throne of Jerusalem, as a sworn vassal of Babylon. Nebuchadrezzar apparently left him practically undisturbed until there was uncovered a secret plot to join an alliance with Hophra of Egypt. Doubtless a refusal of Zedekiah to pay the annual tribute assured the king of Babylon of the truth of the suspicion. Jerusalem was made the target of the Babylonian army. It settled down to a long siege. Jeremiah advised capitulation, and consequent mercy and life for its occupants. But the vacillating king, under the control of the rebellious princes, simply echoed their spirit. The Egyptian allies, true to their oath, came to the rescue of Jerusalem. The Babylonians raised the siege only long enough to strike them a blow that drove them back to the Nile-land. After indescribable sufferings and horrors within the city, mirrored in the book of Lamentations, at the end of one year and a half Jerusalem was broken into. The walls had yielded to the fell strokes of the battering-rams, and the king with his retinue made a vain attempt to reach the East-Jordanic country. He was captured and carried to Riblah, to the presence of the king against

whom he had rebelled. True to the Assyrian policy of cruelty meted out to persistent rebels, his own sons were slain before his eyes, his own eyes put out, probably in the manner indicated on Assyrian monuments, by the use of short spears, and he was manacled with fetters and carried a prisoner to Babylon. To forestall the possibility of any future difficulty in this strong fortress, the city was thoroughly plundered, burned, its walls razed to the ground, and the better part of the population transported to Babylonia.

204. The main causal instrument in the overthrow and destruction of the Judean kingdom was Nebuchadrezzar II, son of Nabopolassar, a Chaldean appointee of the king of Assyria, to the vice-regal governorship of Babylon in 625 B. C. This king is mentioned more than one hundred and fifty times in the Old Testament, and sustained the closest relations with the Jewish captives in Babylonia. During his forty-three years of administration (604-561 B. C.) he made Babylon the political, commercial, and religious center of the civilized world. His achievements by force of arms must have been something tremendous. Unfortunately his numerous inscriptions thus far discovered contain merely hints of his martial career. A few lines out of one of his inscriptions (Phillips Cyl. col. iii. 18-22, P. S. B. A., Feb. '88) reads: "The wide-spread peoples with whom Merodach the lord filled my hand, to Babylon I subjected. The tribute

of the countries, the produce of the hills, the fullness of the seas therein I received." An extract from the great East India House inscription (Col. ii. 12-29) says: "By his [Merodach's] supreme aid, to far off lands, distant hills, from the upper sea, to the lower sea, steep trails, unopened paths . . difficult roads, journeys without water, I traversed, and the disobedient I reduced, the rebellious I fettered. The land I controlled, and the people I made to thrive, bad and good among the people I separated." These are general statements regarding his conquests and his authority, with no specific reference to any one nation. The inscriptions thus far found do not describe any of his victories East or West. If ever the great mounds of Babylon shall be systematically excavated, we shall hope for large information concerning his notable military career.

205. If now we turn to some other phases of Nebuchadrezzar's life, we discover abundant information in his inscriptions. As a builder he equalled or surpassed the marvellous record of Rameses II of Egypt. He not only laid out and built the city of Babylon on a magnificent scale, rebuilding more than twenty temples in that city and in Borsippa, but he greatly strengthened its fortifications and defenses. He built great quays on the river's bank, and increased the facilities for the growing commerce of Babylon. "Is not this great Babylon that I have built?" (Dan. iv. 30) was doubtless many times said by him, for



EAST INDIA HOUSE INSCRIPTION
Of Nebuchadrezzar II (604-561 B. C.)

upon most of the bricks thus far taken out of this mound, we find his name. The two most notable buildings restored were the national temples, of Nebo at Borsippa, called Ezida ("the enduring house"), and of Bel Merodach at Babylon called Esagila ("the house of the exalted head"). The devotional and religious spirit of Nebuchadrezzar is reflected in many passages in his inscriptions. Here is a sample (Ball's Cyl. noted in *Light from the East*, p. 206): "Nebuchadrezzar, the king of righteousness, the humble, the lowly, who hath knowledge of the fear (=worship) of the gods, who loveth justice and righteousness, who seeketh after life, who putteth in the mouth of the people the fear of the mighty gods; who keepeth up E-Sagilla and E-Zidda, the true son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, am I." "When Merodach, the mighty lord, to the lordship of the land lifted me up, and called me an exalted name that I might keep up the cities and renew his temples . . . . . I, the prayerful, the wise, the suppliant, the worshipper of his god-head,—of the building up of that house I bethought myself." In his prayer to Shamash he says: "A righteous scepter, a good shepherding, a just staff of rule, prospering the people, adorn my kingdom forever!" This is the outstanding characteristic of this monarch in the majority of the inscriptions now in our possession.

206. This was the type of ruler to whom the

people of Judah were subject. Whether in Egypt, under his supremacy, or in Palestine or in Babylonia, his word was law. We cannot as yet gain in the inscriptions so much as a hint as to the political, religious, and social conditions of the Jewish exiles. Of course, the biblical picture, in accordance with Nebuchadrezzar's general policy, is not a dark one. The Babylonian exiles enjoyed many of the privileges of citizens, with settled homes and fixed communities. Some of these were not far from the great capital; for the river Chebar near which Ezekiel was active has just been discovered on two tablets dating from the reign of Artaxerxes I (464-424). It was a large, navigable canal, not far from Nippur, southeast of Babylon (see University of Pennsylvania texts, Vol. IX, p. 28). In the inscriptions quoted above we saw that Nebuchadrezzar made it one of the chief aims of his life to bring prosperity to his subjects, and therewith to bind them to himself with ties stronger than fetters. The respectful, pious Jews must have experienced a peaceful, prosperous time, aside from the tearful memories of the wasteness and desolation of their native land.

207. Nebuchadrezzar's active reign of forty-three years closed with his death in 561 B. C. The heritage of his son Evil-Merodach (man of Merodach) was a powerfully organized and stable government. But the master was gone, and at the end of but two years the new king was slain by his brother-in-law,

Nergalsharezer. This old warrior and officer at the fall of Jerusalem, probably identical with Nergal-sharezer of Jer. xxxix. 3, seized the throne for himself. He followed in the footsteps of his father-in-law, and restored, according to Nabonidus (Coronation Cyl. iv. 3-6) certain temples and palaces and greatly improved the water facilities of Babylon (I Rawl. 67, ii. 15-39). At the end of four years (559-555 B. C.) of rather successful administration, he died, leaving the throne to his young son, Labashi-Merodach. Nabonidus in his Stele (col. iv.) says: "his young son incapable of ruling (?) against the will of the gods sat on the royal throne" (Ball, p. 214). This gave a body of conspirators their opportunity, and within nine months the child-king was murdered. Nabonidus says (Stele, col. v. 8 f.): "By the word of Merodach the lord, I was raised to the lordship of the land, while they sang 'O father of the land!' and I had no rival. Of Nebuchadrezzar and Nergalsharezer, the kings that preceded me, I was their powerful legate; with their troops my hands were entrusted; against their bidding I sinned not, and their heart I made glad. As for Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadrezzar, and Labashi-Merodach the son of Nergalsharezer . . . . they broke their commands." According to the claims of Nabonidus, he had been a trusted general of the troops of his predecessors, and by reason of his faithfulness had been promoted by the favor of Merodach to the sov-

ereignty over Babylon. It is not improbable that he was the chief instigator of the murderous conspiracy, and that success in the attempt was regarded as the favor of Merodach.

208. We possess a large amount of literature from the years of the reign of Nabonidus (555-538 B. C.). There are several semi-historical inscriptions and more than a thousand commercial tablets—already in published form. These date from every year of his reign and give us an intensely interesting insight into commercial methods and social life in Babylonia under the eyes of the Jewish exiles. Nabonidus' activity spent itself, so far as his records inform us, in maintaining the stability of the empire in strengthening the fortifications on the Euphrates, and in restoring and beautifying the temples of the gods. In one inscription (V Rawl. 64, col. i. 38-49) we find a good illustration of the zeal of Nabonidus in this direction: "I gave command to my widely distributed peoples, from the land of Gaza, on the border of the land of Egypt, from the upper sea beyond the Euphrates unto the lower sea, the kings, princes, governors, and the numerous peoples which Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar, my lords, had intrusted to me, to build E-gul-gul, the temple of Sin, my lord, who walks beside me which is within the city of Harran, which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, a prince of my predecessor, had built." He states that he fully

restored and rededicated this great temple "and the city of Harran, to its entire extent,—like the new moon I made its splendor to shine" (col. ii. 24, 25). The temple of Shamash at Sippar, though restored by Nebuchadrezzar, had fallen in decay. "When I had brought out Shamash from within it, and made him dwell in another house, that house I pulled down, and I made search for its old foundation record; and I dug to a depth of eighteen cubits, and the foundation record of Naram-Sin the son of Sargon (I), which for 3,200 years no king that preceded me had discovered, Shamash the great lord of E-barra, the temple of the dwelling of his heart's delight, permitted me, even me, to behold."

209. Nabonidus, in reconstructing and gorgeously decorating the temples of Sin at Harran and Shamash at Sippar, was paying the highest regards to the ancient divinities of Babylonia. Other ancient temples of other ancient divinities were likewise restored, and the former worship reëstablished. This devotion to the shrines of deities of a past age most naturally detracted from his zeal for the great divinities exalted and worshipped as supreme by Nebuchadrezzar and his immediate successors. He even neglected attendance upon some of the established religious festivals, and thus incurred the wrath of the priestly authorities. This lack of the right kind of religious patriotism soon aroused against the king enemies of the bitterest kind, who let no opportunity

pass of exposing his weakness. Even Cyrus in the early part of his cylinder, to be noted presently, charges upon Nabonidus malicious intent. (Cyl. 6-8.) "An edict of dishonor to them . . . . daily he contrived. . . . . The continual offering he made to cease . . . . by a yoke unrelaxing he ruined them all." As the years went by Nabonidus gradually lost his grip on the empire. Its religious element became alienated from him, and its political power was forced to lay down arms before the advance of a mightier man, Cyrus the Elamite.

A CUNEIFORM ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF BABYLON (538 B. C.)
(From the Cylinder of Cyrus)

CHAPTER XIX

CYRUS AND THE FALL OF BABYLON

210. The marvelous growth and prosperity of the Babylonian empire was largely due to the comparative peace which blessed all her borders. From Greek sources we learn that this happy condition was due to a triple alliance signed in 585 B. C. between Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, Alyattes of Lydia, and Cyaxares of Media. The passing of Nebuchadrezzar and the usurpation, if such it was, of the throne of Babylon by Nabonidus, broke the bonds of this alliance. Cyaxares, too, was succeeded in Media by Astyages. These changes brought with them a new spirit of rivalry and jealousy. The hardy stock of the highlands south of the Caspian Sea, designated the Umman-Manda, were aggressive and ambitious. Their new leader was anything but suitable to their likings. In a little province in northwestern Elam and just south of Media, we find in 559 B. C. a new character, Cyrus by name. In his own records he says (Cyl. 20-22): "I am Cyrus, the king of multitudes, the great king, the powerful king, the king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Accad, king of the four quarters (of the world); son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the

city of Anshan; the grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anshan; the great-grandson of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of Anshan; the enduring seed of royalty, whose reign Bel and Nebo loved, whose lordship for their hearts' delight they longed for." This genealogical table shows that his royal ancestry had become thoroughly established on the throne, and that he was the legitimate heir to the headship of Anshan.

211. Within ten years from his accession (559 B. C.) Cyrus absorbed the Median kingdom. How long previous to this time he had made conquests of minor tribes and peoples we have no means of knowing. In 549 we find (Nab.-Cyr. Chron. col. ii. 1-4): "[His troops] he assembled, and against Cyrus, the king of Anshan . . . . he marched. As for Astyages, his troops revolted against him, and he was seized and hand[ed over] to Cyrus. Cyrus marched to Ecbatana, the royal city; the silver, gold, goods and possessions of Ecbatana he carried forth and brought them to the land of Anshan." This seems to have been a voluntary choice on the part of the Medes of Cyrus as their king, as against Astyages of the Umman-Manda. This throne became henceforth the possession of Cyrus, and formed one of the chief elements in the great empire which he afterwards created. Cyrus occupied the next two or three years in the East in organizing and establishing himself in

his new realms, Persia in the meantime yielding to his arms.

212. In 546 (Nab.-Cyr. Chron. col. ii. Obv. 15-18), "in the month Nisan, Cyrus, king of the land of Persia, mustered his troops, and below the city of Arbela the Tigris he crossed; and in the month Iyyar to the land of Ish . . . . . its king he slew, its goods he took, and his governor he placed therein." In this western campaign Cyrus was a victor over Crœsus, king of Lydia, and pushed his authority as far as the Ægean Sea. This gave him supremacy from the eastern limits of Media, through the upper plains of Mesopotamia, eastern, middle, and western Asia Minor. Further conquests in the East occupy his attention until the year 539-538 B. C. The heavy and almost impregnable fortifications of Babylon were left for the last stroke.

213. Fortunately we are not dependent upon the statements of second or third-hand historians for a description of the fall of Babylon. We have the records both of Nabonidus, the reigning and vanquished king, and of Cyrus, the conqueror. Though somewhat fragmentary in some places, they nevertheless furnish us with a reasonably good picture of that momentous event. Nabonidus' own record will be cited first (Nab.-Cyr. Chron. col. i. Rev. 12-24): "In the month Tammuz [June], when Cyrus gave battle in the city of Opis, on the banks of the river Sal-

sallat, to the troops of Accad, the inhabitants of Accad he subdued. Whenever the people gathered themselves together, he slew them. On the 14th day of the month, Sippar was taken without fighting. Nabonidus fled. On the 16th day, Gobryas, the governor of Guti, and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Nabonidus, because of his delay, was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end of the month, the shields of the country of Guti guarded the gates of Esagila. No weapons were brought into Esagila or other sacred precincts, nor was any war standard carried there. On the 3d day of Marcheshvan (October), Cyrus entered Babylon. Obstructions (?) fell down before him. Peace for the city he established. Cyrus proclaimed peace to all Babylon. Gobryas, his governor, he appointed governor of Babylon. And from the month Kislev (November) to Adar (February), the gods of Accad, whom Nabonidus had carried to Babylon, returned to their own cities. In the night of the 11th day of Marcheshvan, Gobryas against . . . . he slew the king's son. From the 27th of Adar (February) to the 3d of Nisan (March), there was lamentation in Accad; all the people hung their heads." This remarkable piece of the royal annals astonishes us by recording but one battle in the neighborhood of Babylon. That was fought near Accad, and resulted favorably for Cyrus' troops. Thence the way was open into the city of the empire. The reception of the army is equalled

CLAY CYLINDER OF CYRUS
DESCRIBING THE CAPTURE OF BABYLON

only by the liberty which was announced for the whole city.

214. Cyrus' own cylinder gives us a no less wonderful story. This sets out by assuring the reader that Cyrus was thoroughly imbued with the idea that he was the man of destiny (Cyl. 11-19, 22-24). "Through all lands he (Merodach) searched, he saw him, and he sought the righteous prince, after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. Cyrus, king of Anshan, he called by name; to sovereignty over the whole world he appointed him. The country of Kutu (Gutium), all the Umman-Manda, he made his subjects. As for the black-headed people, whom he (Merodach) caused his (Cyrus') hands to conquer, with justice and uprightness he cared for them. Merodach, the great lord, guardian of his people, beheld with joy his gracious deeds and his upright heart; to his own city, Babylon, he issued orders to march, and he caused him to take the road to Babylon, marching by his side like a friend and companion. His wide-extended troops, whose number like the waters of a river cannot be known, fully equipped, marched by his side. Without skirmish or battle he (Merodach) made him enter Babylon. His city Babylon he spared (in its) distress. Nabonidus, the king, who did not reverence him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, all Sumer and Accad, nobles and governors, prostrated themselves before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his sovereignty,

their faces beamed with joy. The lord (Merodach), who by his power brings the dead to life, who by care and protection benefits all mankind—they gladly did him homage, they obeyed his command . . . . . When I made my peaceful entrance into Babylon, with joy and rejoicing I took up my lordly residence in the king's palace. Merodach, the great lord, [granted] me favor among the Babylonians, and I gave daily attention to his worship. My vast army spread itself out peacefully in the city of Babylon."

215. These two records of the capture of Babylon from two different sources—one might rightfully say from two opposing forces—present a marvellous harmony. They unite in the statement that the city made no resistance to the entrance of the army of Cyrus, neither was there any objection to his immediate assumption of control, unless, in the Nab.-Cyr. Chron., we interpret the guard about the temple of Esagila as a minor siege. On the other hand, the population of the city seems to have welcomed their new conqueror, deliverer, and ruler, as a friend and benefactor. The popular prejudice aroused by the faithful devotees of Bel and Nebo against Nabonidus for his neglect of worship, gladly transferred their fealty to one who honored and revered the great gods of Babylon. It had likewise become evident that the sway of Cyrus meant for other lands a renewed and continuous political prosperity and a reli-

gious liberty unknown in the annals of other rulers. This array of facts freely opened the gates of Babylon to give Cyrus a royal welcome. In view of this direct testimony of two contemporaneous documents, we are forced to the conclusion that the story of Herodotus that Cyrus diverted the waters of the Euphrates from its channel and marched in under the unguarded gates of the river, cannot be true. It may refer to the later capture of Babylon by Darius in 516 B. C.

216. The policy adopted by Cyrus, and put into effect at once in Babylon, fostered the affectionate favor of the gods and of his subjects. (Cyl. 24-36): "To all [Sumer and] Accad, the noble race, I allowed no harm to be done. The needs of Babylon and all its cities engaged my attention. . . . . Their sighing I stilled, and soothed their sorrow. On account of my . . . . . deeds, Merodach, the great lord, rejoiced, and graciously blessed me, Cyrus, the king, who reveres him, and Cambyses, my own son, and all my troops, while we, in his presence, sincerely and gladly praised his exalted . . . All the kings enthroned in royal palaces, in all quarters of the world, from the upper sea to the lower sea, who dwell . . . . all the kings of the West-land, who dwell in tents, brought me heavy tribute, and in Babylon kissed my feet. From . . . Asshur and Shushan, Agane, Eshnunak, Zamban, Meturnu, Durilu, as far as the border of the land of Kutu (Gutium), the cities

which are beyond the river Tigris, whose foundations were laid in antiquity—the gods who dwelt in them I restored to their places, and gave them an everlasting abode. I gathered together all their populations and restored (them to) their dwelling-places. And the gods of Sumer and Accad, whom Nabonidus, to the displeasure of the lord of the gods (Merodach), had brought into Babylon, I, by the command of Merodach, the great lord, made them to dwell peacefully in their own shrines, dwellings causing gladness of heart. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities, daily before Bel (Merodach) and Nebo pray that I may have a long life, may they speak a word in my favor, and say to Merodach my lord: "May Cyrus, the king who worships thee, and Cambyses his son . all the lands I let dwell in peace." Unfortunately the remaining lines of this notable inscription are almost entirely broken away. What has been quoted gives us the sweep of Cyrus' supremacy and the gist of his beneficent policy. He was the protector and the bounteous promoter of the welfare of his subjects. Their deities and their methods of worship were graciously restored, and dignified by elevating them to their former positions. The peoples, too, who had been forcibly deported from their native lands were restored by the king's decree. This generous policy, in contrast with that of preceding rulers, gave Cyrus unwonted influence and power over his retainers. It may be that the fact

that he was an Aryan, with newer and freer ideas than those that had grown up in Semitic thought and power, threw an added charm about his personality and policy.

217. The significance of the rise of Cyrus is vividly portrayed by the prophetic words to the exiles in Babylon. Words of comfort addressed to the exiles assure them (xl. 1, 2) that their punishment will soon cease. They shall return to their home-land, inhabit it and rebuild their cities and restore the waste places (xliv. 26). This shall be accomplished by a deliverer who is already on his way to conquer. "Who hath raised up one from the east, whom he calleth in righteousness to his foot? he giveth nations before him and maketh him rule over kings; he giveth them as the dust to his sword, as the driven stubble to his bow. He pursueth them, and passeth on safely; even by a way that he had not gone with his feet. Who hath wrought and done it, calling the generations from the beginning? I, Jehovah, the first, and with the last, I am he" (xli. 2-4). Again we find, "Thus saith Jehovah to his anointed (selected), Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of kings; to open the doors before him, and the gates shall not be shut. . . . . For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel my chosen, I have called thee by name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me. I am Jehovah, and there is

none else; beside me there is no God: I will gird thee, though thou hast not known me" (xlv. 1, 4, 5). Cyrus is distinctly designated as the agent of Jehovah to conquer the nations. His mission was a providential one, and in no sense because he was a worshipper of Jehovah, for the sake of his servant Jacob.

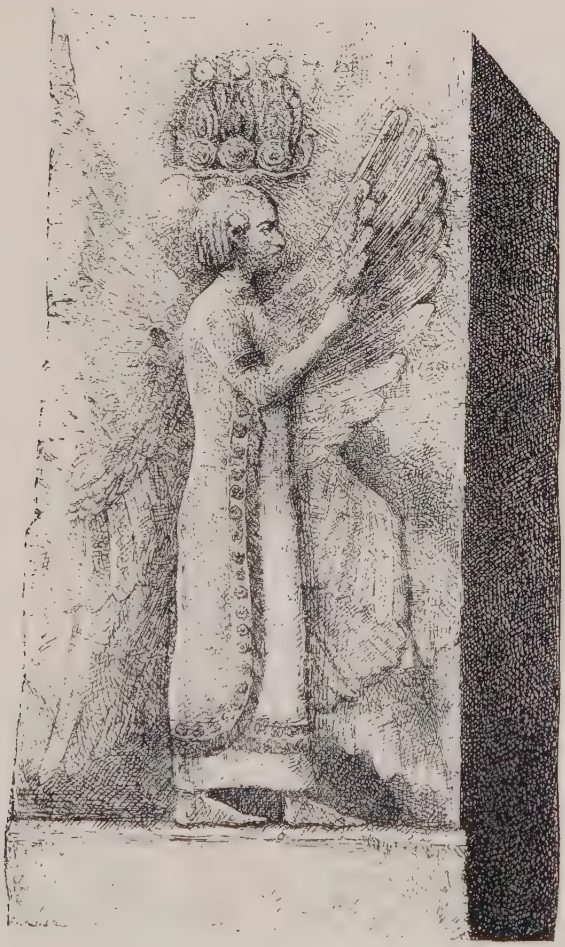
218. To deliver the Jews it was necessary that the great Babylon, the pride of her kings, the yoke of her subjects, should fall. Numerous prophecies from Jeremiah down had pictured her doom. But her conquerer is now at hand. "Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon; sit on the ground without a throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. . . . Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called the lady of kingdoms." "Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up and save thee from the things that shall come upon thee. Behold they shall be as stubble, ... there shall be none to save thee" (xlvii. 1, 5, 13, 15). Nothing that they can muster shall be able to avert the certain doom of the wicked city. On the eve of its fall the prophet sees some of its consequences. "Bel (Merodach) bows down, Nebo crouches; their idols are upon the beasts, and upon the cattle: the things that ye carried about are made a load, a burden to the weary beast. They stoop,

they bow down together; they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity" (xlvi. 1, 2). The substance of these and other prophecies is that Babylon must be humiliated, her proud position surrendered, and even her idols become a load for beasts and not a joy to their own worshippers. This last statement was fulfilled only in the sense that the idols, as contrasted with Jehovah's power who was bringing this about, would be merely a burden of useless material. For as Cyrus himself claimed, it was under the auspices of the gods that he marched into Babylon.

219. Having already given (213, 214) the contemporaneous records of the fall of Babylon, let us now consider the Jewish return. We have noted (215) that Cyrus inaugurated a policy of generosity towards his new subjects, that he endeavored to promote in every way their welfare. As a wise statesman, a shrewd politician, and a kind-hearted ruler, he planned methods by which he could better the condition of his peoples. He was ready to espouse their cause almost to the endangerment of his throne. He revered their gods, and where they had been neglected or desecrated, he was solicitous for their restoration to their former veneration. Babylon and all its precincts bore evidences of his spirit in the rebuilding and rededication of many shrines and temples. His own appeals to the gods, and his avowal of their support, reveal Cyrus as a polytheist of a pro-

nounced type. It was not a matter of monotheism, of a possible Zoroastrianism, that called his attention to the Jews, but other reasons of no mean proportions. (1) In addition to the restoration and rehabilitation of captive and dethroned deities, he says (Cyl. 32): "All of their peoples I gathered together and restored to their own dwelling-places." This definitely stated national policy gives us one reason for the royal proclamation (Ezra i. 2-4) issued in favor of the Jews. (2) It is altogether probable that Cyrus caught up from some one in Babylonia the mission which had been assigned him by the prophets. "Cyrus is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built; and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid" (Isa. xliv. 28). (3) Palestine had been a kind of buffer-state from time immemorial between southwestern Asia and Egypt. To occupy and hold that strong fortress, Jerusalem, was the first step toward the conquest of the rival power. If Cyrus could conserve that advantage by aiding the Jews to build and hold it, he would be setting up one battlement in the face of Egypt's army. For one of his next strokes would be at the rival power on the Nile.

220. Cyrus issued his proclamation authorizing the return of the Jewish exiles in the first year of his sovereignty as king of Persia (Ezra i. 1), 538 B. C. It is entirely reasonable to conjecture that, in accordance with his general principles of government, he



PORTRAIT OF CYRUS
(From Murghab)

issued many similar documents. The copy quoted in Ezra i. 2-4 gives a few only of the specifications originally announced. In subsequent references to the document (iii. 2-7; v. 13-16; vi. 1-5), we discover that elaborate provisions were made for the building of the temple, as well as for the reinauguration of the worship of Jehovah. Cyrus had not overlooked anything that would contribute to the rapid reclamation of this western waste. The proclamation was of such scope as to include the Jews in any part of his realm. The citizens of the empire were also authorized, if they chose, to render assistance to the pilgrims to Palestine. How generally they responded to the royal edict is stated in Ezra ii. This pilgrimage of less than fifty thousand of the faithful to the land of their fathers relieved the administration of Cyrus from the presence, in any part of the realm, of a dissatisfied, disturbing Jewish element. It also populated and built up a section of his territory which had been overrun and devastated by successive armies of Assyria and Babylonia. It likewise gave spirit to a people whose national life had been next to blotted out by a succession of well-deserved chastisements and captivities. In this event many of the brightest and most hopeful utterances of the great prophets found their fulfillment, and their fruition.

CHAPTER XX

DANIEL AND BELSHAZZAR

221. Our sources of information for this chapter are somewhat scanty. There are a few inscriptions that contribute something on the life of the times, on the personality of Belshazzar, and on the fate of the city in which Daniel lived. The book of Daniel, so full of references assigned to this period, will also serve, so far as its statements go, to let in a few further rays of light on this epoch.

222. The presence in Babylon of one sturdy, God-fearing Jew, during the whole time of the existence of the new Babylonian empire, is an event of more than ordinary significance. There is no sufficient reason for the denial of the historicity of the person Daniel. But when and how did he reach Babylon? The solution of this question rests in part, doubtless, on the position taken regarding the extent of Nebuchadrezzar's march after his battle with Necho. It has already been stated (200) that there is no inherent improbability in the statement of Dan. i. 1, even though it were not put in written form until centuries thereafter. The education of Jewish youths in the court of Nebuchadrezzar would be in harmony

with his scheme of a world-wide administration. The promotion of Joseph in Egypt, and the adoption of foreigners in the Turkish court of to-day, are examples of recourse to the same methods to facilitate government. The schools of Babylonia-Assyria are reflected in the lists of cuneiform exercises, which were prepared by just such pupils as were Daniel and his companions. Their three years of training were years of severe application to learn the intricacies and mysteries of the cuneiform language, and the monumental literature and science which it concealed.

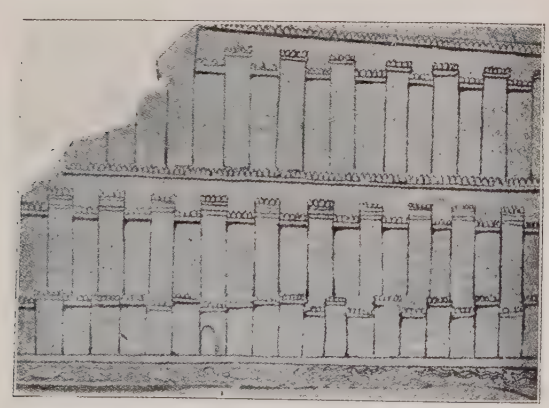
223. The Babylonian court was rich in hangers-on. There were, besides the priests and other officials connected immediately with the temple service, magicians, soothsayers, astrologers, sorcerers, enchanters, and a special rank, called Chaldeans. It is not easy always to distinguish between the functions of these different classes. They constituted one of the most useful addenda to the court. Their services were in demand on all important or critical occasions, and their decisions, like those of the oracle of Delphi, were held in supreme reverence. The case of the calling of Balaam (Num. xxii., xxiii.) by Balak, king of Moab, from Pethor (Pitru on the Euphrates, in the cuneiform inscriptions) to curse his new enemy the children of Israel, is an example of the importance attached to these semi-officials. They were among the wisest men of their times. They could

often read with surprising accuracy the signs of the times, and could so adapt their wisdom to their patrons' desires as often to win for themselves fame and wealth (cf. Num. xxii. 7, 16, 17, 37; xxiv. 13).

224. Daniel's training and acuteness soon brought him and his companions into competition with the other wise men of Babylon. At length Daniel's day came. The king had forgotten an important dream, and demanded of his magi both the recalling and interpretation of it. Their failure to comply with his demand involved both themselves and the Jewish youths in a sentence of death (Dan. ii. 13). Daniel's prudent reply to the captain of the slaughter-guard gave him an opportunity. And by divinely-given wisdom he outranked all of his rivals. He secured for himself great prizes, and governorship over the province of Babylon, and the position of chief governor over all the wise men of Babylon. In addition, the king honored his request and appointed his three companions over affairs in the province of Babylon. But Daniel was at the king's court (Dan. ii. 48, 49). This is the story that we find in Dan. ii. There is no evidence yet discovered in the inscriptions to confirm it, and none to dispute its truthfulness. The disturbing element in many minds is the remarkably miraculous character of the things done. But these are quite equalled by the story of Joseph in Egypt.

225. The promotion of Daniel, according to the statement of Dan. ii. 1, was made in the second year

CAMEO INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF NEBUCHADREZZAR
(Though doubtless of later origin)



THE WALLS OF BABYLON
(From a relief in Assurbanipal's palace in Nineveh)

of Nebuchadrezzar (603 B. C.). With the single exception of the time of the interpretation of the second dream of the king (in chap. iv.), Daniel does not appear again until the fall of Babylon (538 B. C.), a period of sixty-five years. We have no means of estimating what he may have accomplished for Nebuchadrezzar in the building-up and extension of the new Babylonian empire. His influence with the king and his power as governor of the chief province of the empire were doubtless important factors in determining the fate of the Jewish exiles. It is altogether probable that the clemency allowed the communities of exiles at various points in Babylonia, and the possibilities of settlements in houses (Jer. xxix. 5), and the engagement of exiles in business enterprises, was due to the paramount influence at court of that godly statesman. During all the vicissitudes of the last two decades of the Babylonian empire, when anarchy and bloodshed stained the throne, and when the governmental policy toward the Jews was uncertain, we can conceive that Daniel's counsel was eagerly sought, and faithfully followed. We shall never know how much courage his faithfulness gave to the prophets as they prophesied the mercy and pardon of God, and the release of the exiles.

226. Daniel's first recorded appearance after a period of silence of more than one-half a century is found in the account of Belshazzar's feast. In the midst of the sacrilegious and defiant act of desecrat-

ing the vessels brought from Jerusalem, a shadow-hand wrote on the wall opposite the king, four mysterious words. Terror seizes him, and the wise men are called to interpret these riddles. Baffled and defeated, they withdraw. Now the queen (mother(!)) recalls the fact that Nebuchadrezzar had found Daniel a man "in whom is the spirit of the holy gods" (Dan. v. 11). Probably at the change of administration Daniel had been retired as a 'back number.' But now a crisis was at hand, and the wise men had ignominiously failed. The venerable old wise man, probably about eighty-five years of age, was sent for. With the same unerring divine wisdom employed in interpreting the dreams of Nebuchadrezzar, Daniel read aloud, to the horror of every listener, the written doom of the kingdom: "Numbered, numbered, weighed, divisions." For this master's victory he was made the third ruler in the kingdom, Nabonidus being first, and Belshazzar second. But the position was ephemeral, for the prophecy found its fulfillment on that same night (Dan. v. 30).

227. Belshazzar was a public character in the last years of the Babylonian empire. In the passage descriptive of his feast (Dan. v.) he is called "the king," while in the inscriptions of this period, noted in the preceding chapter, Nabonidus was king at the fall of Babylon. What is the explanation of this apparent discrepancy? What was the relation, if any, existing between the inscriptional and the Danielic

kings of Babylon just on the eve of its fall? In one of Nabonîdus' inscriptions (I Rawl. 68, No. 1, col. ii. 24-31), we find: "And in the heart of Belshazzar, my eldest son, my offspring, implant the fear of thy great godhead! let him not sin! may he be satisfied with the fulness of life!" This evidence is supplemented by a few contract tablets dating from different years of the reign of Nabonidus. One tablet inscribed in "the fifth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon," tells that "the secretary of Belshazzar, the son of the king, leased a house for a term of three years, for one and one-half manehs of silver, and other considerations." Another tablet dated in "the eleventh year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon" (545 B. C.), reads: "The sum of twenty manehs of silver, for wool, the property of Belshazzar, the son of the king, which has been delivered to Iddin-Merodach . . . . through the agency of Nebo-zabit, the steward of Belshazzar, the son of the king." A third tablet dating from "the twelfth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon," states that Nebo-zabit, of the house of Belshazzar, had lent through a loans-broker a sum of money, and taken as security the crops to be grown near Babylon. There can be no reasonable doubt, then, that Nabonidus the last king of Babylon was the father of a son Belshazzar (Bel-sharuzur), whose position as heir to the throne must have been one of prominence and authority in the administration of the kingdom.

228. Since, then, Belshazzar was a son of the reigning king, let us see whether in the inscriptions he was invested with any authority, or given any trust. In the annals of Nabonidus (Col. ii. Obv. l. 5, 10, 19, 23), dated in the seventh year of his reign (549), we find: "The king was in the city of Tema; the king's son, the nobles, and his troops were in the land of Accad." This same thing is said of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of Nabonidus. An unfortunate break in the tablet carrying the annals loses for us all the remaining years to the last, the seventeenth. In this eventful year the army of Cyrus appears on the horizon. A battle was fought with the troops of Accad (Annals, Col. i. Rev. 13, 14), which were probably at this time as they had been in the seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh years, under the command of the king's son. The population of Accad he overthrew and there was bloodshed. On the fourteenth day of Tammuz (June), Sippar fell into the hands of the invaders, without a battle, and Nabonidus fled to Babylon. Now what became of the king's son? Is Belshazzar's feast one of the accessories, one of the final tragedies of the taking of Babylonia? If so, where was that gorgeous assembly feasted? The representation in Dan. v. leads to the implication that there were present many men of high authority, some of whom possibly had come to Babylonia from outlying prov-

inces to aid in the final resistance to the army of Cyrus.

229. In determining this question, we must ascertain as nearly as possible where the necessary conditions are to be found. The only battle mentioned in the records thus far discovered was fought in the land of Accad. The immediate issue of this fight is not given, though the final outcome was doubtless a victory for Cyrus. It may be that the Babylonian (Chaldean) army after striking a severe blow at the invaders retired within the walls of Accad, and as a final rally determined to celebrate their valor, and fire their martial zeal, by a sumptuous patriotic banquet. But (Nab. Annals, Col. i. Rev. 13, 14) "whenever the people gathered themselves together, he (Cyrus) slew them." If at Accad, the citizens and possibly army arose in defiance of authority, at the futility of further resistance to Cyrus. When the great feast had extended well into the night and the banqueters had yielded their reason and their powers to the soothing and mellowing qualities of wine, the revolters broke into the royal banqueting hall and cut down right and left the riotous lords. This well accords with the statement, "In that night Belshazzar the Chaldean king was slain" (Dan. v. 30). The second location given to Belshazzar's feast, and the one commonly accepted though not authorized in Dan. v., lies in the possibility of such a fight

in Babylon. We saw (Annals, Col. i. Rev. 16-19) that the temple Esagila in Babylon was surrounded for one month by troops, and at the end of that time yielded, though nothing is said of any fight or bloodshed. If Belshazzar held his great banquet in Babylon it was in this enclosure; and at the end of the period of siege, taking advantage of the condition of the defence, it was broken into and the debauchees dispatched. This latter position would more easily explain the ready presence at the banquet of the vessels captured at Jerusalem. But the former view, that all transpired at Accad, accords better with the testimony of the monuments.

230. Difficulty is sometimes found with certain positions attributed by the book of Daniel to Belshazzar. If Nabonidus was king at the fall of Babylon, how does the narrative in Daniel give the same title to Belshazzar? Long ages before the fall of Babylon, we find cases where the prince-regent was made and called "king" during the lifetime of his father. Jehoshaphat of Judah appointed his son Jehoram king of Judah seven years before his (the father's) death (cf. 2 Kings viii. 16 with i. 19). Jotham was made king of Judah when his father Uzziah was smitten with leprosy, though still living and reckoned as king in the final summing up the years of his reign. Before starting on his dangerous campaign of conquest toward central Asia, Cyrus is said to have appointed Cambyses as his successor.

Belshazzar had occupied this position apparently for some time before the fall of Babylon (Dan. vii.; viii.). Again, the queen and Daniel address Belshazzar with the expression, "Nebuchadnezzar thy father." We have no positive proof that Belshazzar was a descendant of the great founder of the empire. "Jehu son of Omri" is found on the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II, when Jehu was the extirpator of the house of Omri. In all probability, then, this means no more than that Belshazzar was a successor of Nebuchadrezzar on the throne of Babylon.

231. "And Darius the Mede received the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old" (Dan. v. 31). Up to the present time no such character has been found for this period in the inscriptions. Nabonidus (Annals, Col. i. Rev. 20) says of Cyrus: "Gobryas, his officer, he appointed governor in Babylon." Many scholars maintain that "Gubaru," the original form of "Gobryas," is to be identified with "Darius." This is, at least, not impossible. We know that Cyrus was a restless conqueror, and, as rapidly as possible, gave the control of his provinces into the hands of subordinates. If there is a possibility of this identification, then Daniel, as Jeremiah at the fall of Jerusalem, was held in the highest reverence by the victors. In addition, he was given a position of honor and responsibility in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom. In this office he was the

victim of a malicious political intrigue. His punishment of being thrown into the den of lions was a characteristic Persian method of getting rid of criminals. But the power which had controlled and preserved Daniel was equal to the emergency, and he triumphed over his victors. With this event we have the last recorded reference to Daniel in the capacity of a politician. He was the recipient, however, according to our book, of a series of visions, whose symbolism pictured the political revolutions down to the middle of the second century B. C.

232. This chapter would not be complete without a few remarks on the Book of Daniel. It its present form it appears in two languages: Hebrew, with a large section (ii. 4b—vii.) in Aramaic. The first six chapters purport to be history, while the last six are visions. In its style of composition it is unique. It abounds in full, almost redundant expressions, and a multiplicity of almost synonymous words. It gives little scraps of events located at distant periods, presumably in the life of Daniel. Foreign words, too, notably Greek names of musical instruments, and Persian names of officials and the like, are found, especially in the first half of the book. There are also a few alleged historical statements, such as that concerning Darius the Mede (cf. Dan. ix. 1), whose verity is not yet established by the inscriptions thus far discovered, and whose explanations are as yet impossible without assumptions. The fact of

the erroneous writing of Nebuchad*n*ezzar for the only correct Nebuchad*r*ezzar is no more strange in Daniel than in the book of Jeremiah. Many other alleged difficulties are largely attributable to the adoption by some scholars in the case of the book of Daniel of the forensic method in carrying a point. But after all has been said on both sides of the question of the date, the weight of probability declares that the book of Daniel was compiled some time after Daniel's day, but within the date of the supremacy of the Persian empire.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CITY OF SUSA AND ESTHER

233. The city of Susa is encircled with a halo of interest for every Bible student. It was the scene of several fascinating incidents mentioned in the Old Testament. The city is mentioned in three books: Daniel, Nehemiah, and Esther. To this city Daniel was transported in a vision. "And I saw in the vision; now it was so, that when I saw, I was in Shushan the palace, which was in the province of Elam; and I saw in the vision, and I was by the river Ulai" Dan. viii. 2). The figures that Daniel saw symbolized the successive dynasties that should fight and rule on the bank of the Eulaeus at Susa. Nehemiah was a member of the court of Artaxerxes, king of Persia (464-24 B. C.), when he learned of the broken-down condition of the walls of Jerusalem, the city of his fathers. The opening words of his book read as follows: "Now it came to pass in the month Chislev, in the twentieth year, as I was in Shushan the palace" (Neh. i. 1). From this place he went by the king's permission to Jerusalem, rebuilt the walls of the city, and again returned to his former position. Later he made a second visit to

the Palestinian colony and instituted some radical reforms among the most liberal of the Jews.

The scene of the book of Esther is laid within the walls of Susa, and most of it within the limits of Shushan the Palace.

234. These facts render the ranges of ruins of old Susa of double interest to every student of Bible history. These mounds cover the buildings in which some of the most important facts of Persian history occurred. Probably there is no city where the very palaces in which the scenes of the Old Testament narrative can be so accurately reconstructed. This fact is due to the energetic excavations conducted in this pile of ruins. The first attempt of any consequence was that of W. K. Loftus, an Englishman, in 1852. He found the bases of some columns "and the substructure of an edifice built in the form of a large hypostyle hall." His most important find was a group of trilingual cuneiform inscriptions on the bases of the columns. By these the date of the erection of the building was determined. It was originally built by Darius Hystaspes (521-485 B. C.), partly burnt down under Artaxerxes Longimanus (464-424 B. C.), and completely restored by Artaxerxes Mnemon (406-359 B. C.). Loftus described his discoveries in his work, *Chaldæa and Susiana.*

The next important excavator at this place was M. Dieulafoy, a French engineer and architect, during the years 1884-86. This expedition almost en-

tirely uncovered one great palace. Its treasures in great abundance are now deposited in the Louvre in Paris. This work has been elaborately described in his elegant volume, *L'Acropole de Suse.* M. J. de Morgan has also worked, under the auspices of the French Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, on the same spot, and has discovered some valuable monuments for our knowledge of early Babylonian history and of later Persian supremacy in the East.

235. The time of the founding of Susa is unknown. "The Greeks believed the city to have existed in the time of the Trojan war." The cuneiform inscriptions, however, inform us that it had been the headquarters of the Elamite kingdom long ages before the reigns of the later kings of Assyria. Assurbanipal states that he restored from Susa an image of the goddess Nana which the king of Elam had carried away from Babylon 1635 years before his day. This would make Susa a city of some importance among the Elamites as early as 2280 B. C. Without following it down through the centuries, let us see how Assurbanipal treated it about 650 B. C. Elam had been a continual menace to the power of Assyria until Assurbanipal completely crushed her. Out of his long record of the Elamite campaign a few lines descriptive of his plunder of Susa must suffice (Rassam Cyl. col. v. 128—vi. 76):

"I plundered Susa, the great city, the dwelling of their gods, the place of their oracle. By the command of Asshur

and Ishtar, I entered the palaces, with rejoicing I took a seat there, and I opened their treasures, in which gold, silver, substance, wealth, and possessions were piled up, which the former kings of Elam, and the recent kings collected and stored there; on which no other enemy besides me had laid his hand. I brought it out and counted it as booty. Silver, gold, substance, wealth, and possessions of Sumer, Accad, and Karduniash (Babylonia), which the earlier kings of Elam had plundered in seven campaigns and carried away to Elam . . . . . precious stones, a valuable treasure, befitting royal dignity, which former kings of Accad and Shamash-shum-ukin had sent to Elam to effect an alliance; garments becoming royal dignity; weapons of war; all kinds of instruments suitable for his use; furniture that had been used in their palaces, upon which (the kings) had sat and laid down, out of which they had eaten and drunk, poured out libations, and anointed (officials); chariots, wagons (and other) vehicles; . . . . . horses with trappings of gold and silver, — (all these) I carried away as booty to Assyria. The temple-tower of Susa, built of alabaster, I destroyed. Shushinak, the god of their oracle, who dwells in a concealed place, whose godly pursuit no one sees, Shumudi, Lagamaru, Partikira (and others) . . . whom the kings of Elam reverenced, ... these gods and goddesses with their treasures, their possessions, their furniture, together with their priests and temple servants, I carried away to Assyria. Thirty-two statues of kings, of silver, gold, bronze, and stone . . . . . I took with me to Assyria. I turned over the bull colossi, and all the colossi that guarded the temple entrance, and dragged away the wild oxen, of furious mien, that belonged to the gates. The temple of Elam I laid in total ruins. Its gods and its goddesses I ordered (to be cast) into the rubbish heaps. Their hidden forest, where no stranger had ever sojourned, neither trodden its bounds, my soldiers forcibly entered, saw their places of concealment, and burned them with fire. The mausoleums of their kings, the earlier and the recent, who had not feared

Asshur and Ishtar, my lords, but had rebelled against the kings, my fathers, I destroyed, laid waste, and spread them in the face of the sun. Their bones I took with me to Assyria, upon their spirits I enjoined restlessness, and refused them gifts of food and drink."

This is a dread but doubtless true picture of the frightful vengeance taken upon Susa by her Assyrian conqueror about 650 B. C.

236. Within one hundred years of this date Cyrus was king of Elam, with Susiana as part of his possessions. But Susa did not come into prominence until Cambyses son of Cyrus decided to build at this point a great palace. Tradition says that he imported architects and artisans from Egypt, to give Persia the beginnings of an architecture. His early death intervened, and the work was left to Darius Hystaspes (521-485 B. C.). One of the inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon (406-359 B. C.) found by Loftus at Susa gives us the facts in the case: "My ancestor Darius built this *Apadâna* in former times. In the reign of Artaxerxes, my grandfather, it was consumed by fire. By the grace of Ahuramazda, Anaïtis, and Mithras, I have restored this *Apadâna*."

237. A rapid sketch of the early Persian kings is quite necessary to appreciate the events of Esther's day. Cyrus, slain in battle in 529 B. C., was succeeded by his son Cambyses. This ambitious young man, to secure his crown, murdered his brother and sister. After eight years of apparent success, in a

fit of despair, he took his life. For eight months a usurper, Gomates, held the throne, but was finally slain, and Darius Hystaspes (521-485 B. C.) seized the crown. It was under the early years of his administration that the Jews at Jerusalem completed and dedicated their temple (516 B. C.). During these years Darius suppressed revolts and uprisings in all parts of his realm. He then carried his conquests as far as Scythia in Europe (508 B. C.). He fully equipped two great expeditions for invading Greece, but both failed, the second at the famous battle of Marathon (490 B. C.). A third expedition was planned, but a revolt in Egypt (487 B. C.) and his own death (485) intervened. He was buried in an elaborate rock tomb near Persepolis, which was adorned with sculptures and a long inscription. Besides the winter palace at Susa, he built an immense royal structure at Persepolis. To him we are indebted for the Behistun inscription (36). He was the greatest king that ever sat on Persia's throne, both as regards conquests and power of administration. He was succeeded by Xerxes I, supposed to be a remote kin of Cyrus the conqueror of Babylon.

238. Xerxes' first great work was the subjugation of Egypt (485 B. C.). After chastizing rebels in Babylonia, he next turned his attention to the still unconquered state of Greece. He called together his nobles and counsellors from all parts of the empire, as a kind of council of war. The conclusion of their

deliberations was that the most elaborate preparations be made, and Greece be brought to their feet. Careful and complete provisions were made covering a space of four years. The army was thoroughly organized, and the commissary department adequately equipped. In 480 B. C. the army started on its long campaign, aided by a large and well-equipped fleet. It crossed the Hellespont on a bridge of double boats and pushed through Macedonia down to Greece. Through Thermopylæ it poured over the bodies of the brave 300 Spartans until Athens was captured and burnt. The Persian fleet, disabled by storms, was finally destroyed by the Greeks at the battle of Salamis (September 23, 480). The land force retreated to Thessaly, where a picked army remained over winter. In the spring it resumed active offensive operations and recaptured Attica. The Spartans raised a large army, crossed the isthmus, and forced the Persians to retire into Bœotia. On September 25, 479 B. C., the Persian host was completely routed at Platæa, and returned to Asia, never again to invade European Greece.

239. It is now generally recognized that the events of the book of Esther should be sketched on the background outlined in the preceding section. The Hebrew name for the Persian king Ahasuerus is *Achashverosh*, the Persian is *Chshyarsha*, and the Babylonian, *Chishiyarsha* (var. *Akkashiyarshi*). It was through the Babylonian form of the name that the identification of

Ahasuerus as Xerxes was finally fixed. This one point determined, we are prepared to examine the general features of the document in the light of modern discoveries. The dramatic character of the book of Esther has assigned it, in some minds, to the realm of fiction, and has attributed it to some author who lived late in the Greek or in the Maccabean era. Little more can be done than to ascertain in how far the manners, customs, and laws reflected in the book are distinctively Persian and in how far the author gives a true picture of the social and political conditions of the times of Xerxes.

240. The opening verses of the book describe a one-hundred-and-eighty-day feast given by the king in the third year (483 B. C.) of his reign. His guests were princes and nobles from all his realm, "from India to Ethiopia," who came in successive companies for a period of six months, to enjoy the favors of the king, to be impressed by the magnificence of his court, and to admire the majesty of his imperial person. The real purpose of these banquets, however, was to consider and decide on the feasibility of another campaign against Greece. The banqueting passion of the Persians was insatiate. Some of these feasts had as many as 15,000 persons present, and cost nearly $100,000. At the close of this series of banquets, at which it was decided to prepare for another campaign against Greece, a banquet of seven days was given the citizens of Susa.

Vashti also entertained the women in a separate feast of like magnificence. Xerxes' excess at wine confused his brain, and he ordered his chamberlains to bring in and exhibit before his intoxicated companions the beauty of Queen Vashti. Herodotus tells us that Macedonian ladies, introduced to a similar banquet in Darius' day, were basely insulted. Vashti may have known of this event, and so refused. On consulting his chief counsellors, Xerxes decided to suppress such insubordination, and deposed her. This left a vacancy in the royal household. During the next four years he was busily engrossed in preparing for and in conducting that memorable campaign against Greece. The affairs of the royal household were in the care of under-officers, and the necessary preparations were on foot to secure an incumbent for the place of Vashti, whether or not she were the chief queen.

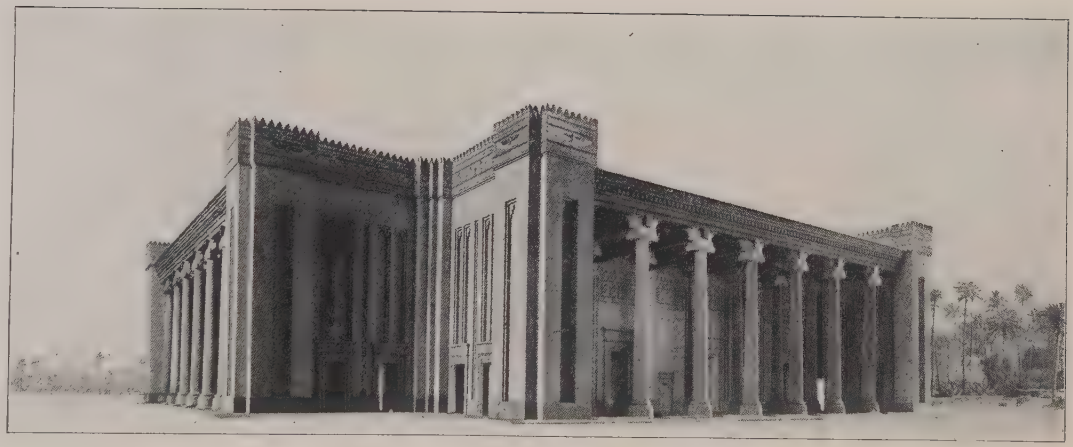
241. The remaining chief events of the book of Esther are located after Xerxes' disastrous campaign against Greece. What more natural than that the proud monarch, smarting under his humiliating defeat at the hands of the Greek troops, should seek to drown himself in the luxuries of his palace? Esther's introduction to him took place (chap. ii. 16) in December, 479 B. C. She immediately wins the favor of the king, and is made queen instead of Vashti. It is not improbable that Amestris during all this time, as stated by Herodotus, was the only

legitimate wife, that is, the only one derived from one of the seven royal houses specified in Persian law. That Esther was decorated with a royal crown is no more noteworthy than that Mordecai, a kind of prime minister, should wear such a mark of high honor (chap. viii. 15). This promotion of Esther was celebrated in true Persian style by "a great feast to all his princes and his servants: and he made a release to the provinces, and gave gifts, according to the bounty of the king" (chap. ii. 18). The defeat of his great expedition, doubtless, militated against the power and majesty of the king in the eyes of his subjects. But a wide distribution of favors such as is here described would do much to restore their confidence in his beneficent character.

242. The first incident in this dramatic story that is especially illuminated by the discoveries at Susa is Haman's method of fixing a date for the destruction of the Jews. Strange to tell, M. Dieulafoy found in the mound at Susa one of the dice that were used in Persia to determine events. It is a quadrangular prism, on the quadrangular faces of which are engraved: one, two, five, six. Throw this die and it will stop on an odd or an even number. A vigorous objection has been made to the possibility of the reality of Haman's decree, because of the long interval of time which was allowed the Jews before the arrival of the day of their execution. On the other hand, this is rather in favor of the genu-

ineness of the story. A careful test shows that one may throw this die even scores of times before it will stop on the desired number. Haman's fixing of the date was left entirely to the die. The word for die at Susa in that time was *Pur;* whether or not it was Persian is of no consequence. The text (chap. iii. 7) says: "They cast Pur, that is, the lot"—an explanation added for the Jews, to tell them that it answered the same purpose in Susa as "the lot" did among the Jews. The long projection into the future of the massacre of the Jews was not Haman's personal wish, but was the fate fixed for them by the Pur, "the lot."

243. There is no event described in the Old Testament whose structural surroundings can be so vividly and accurately restored from actual excavations as "Shushan the Palace." The discoveries of Dieulafoy have contributed most largely to this result. The Memnonium, or palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon (236) was the restored palace of Xerxes. 'It was composed of three groups of distinct apartments, each surrounded by a special enclosure, but comprised in the same fortress. The *Apadâna* or throne-hall, resembled, by its appointments and its hypostyle architecture, a Greek temple. The king occupied in the tabernacle the place of the divine statue. The hall at Susa covered more than twenty acres. The porticos, the stairways, the enclosures, were developed upon an area more than eighteen times larger,



RESTORATION OF THE APADANA OF ARTAXERXES II
"SHUSHAN THE PALACE" OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER (AFTER DIEULAFOY)
(View of the northwest angle)

and divided by a pylon. On this side of the pylon, a giant stairway that leads from the parade-ground up to the level of a vast esplanade; on the other side, glittering with its enameled crown, losing itself in the green branches of a hanging garden, was the *Apadâna*.' 'Quite separated from the *Apadâna*, grouping themselves about an interior court, were the special apartments of the sovereign: the audience hall, the rest chamber, rooms similar to a chancery, and to an armory, for the guards, and for the king's subsidiaries. Like the *Apadâna*, it is reached by stairs of gigantic proportions, which connect the fortified gate of his especial apartments with the armory. The private dwelling of the king, recognized by its arrangement and isolation, and by the formidable turret which protected it, occupied the southeast angle of the acropolis.'

244. The antiquities brought from Susa to Paris have been deposited in two large rooms of the Louvre. On the basis of these finds, M. Dieulafoy has not only set up various parts of the palace, such as the bases and capitals of the columns in their natural size, but has made a model, on the basis of the best information, of the great palace of Artaxerxes. The throne-room was made by thirty-six fluted columns, sixty-seven feet in height, supporting a flat cedar-wood roof brought from Phœnicia. These columns were arranged in the form of a square, the two sides and back of the room consisting of a solid wall,

through which four small doorways pierced. Either corner is guarded by a great pylon, "composed of two high walls, crowned with battlements, and standing at right angles to one another. These pylons form wings at each side of the entrance to the central hall, and at each end of the two colonnades at the sides." They were built of brick, and were decorated on the outside with narrow perpendicular recesses and projections, and with friezes of enameled bricks. These friezes are lions, warriors, or the royal body-guard, and the like, characteristically Persian. In fact, the whole structure as restored in the model shows us just the environment in which Esther and the other actors in that drama moved about. With this picture before us we can now locate "the king's gate," where Mordecai worried the soul of Haman, "the inner court of the king's house over against the king's house" (chap. v. 1), where Esther appeared unbidden before the king; "the outward court of the king's house" (chap. vi. 4), where Haman appeared to request permission to hang Mordecai; "the palace garden" (chap. vii. 7), to which the king retired to cool his anger against Haman—in fact, almost all the features of "Shushan the Palace," in which those tragic events took place.

245. In view of the extensive revelations made in the mounds of Susa, we can assert, at least, that the book of Esther is true to what is known of Persian institutions and customs in the times of Xerxes; that

the so-called improbabilities of the book now reduce themselves to a minimum. That Greek and biblical sources are not in harmony is not surprising, since both of them are fragmentary, and cannot be expected to give us a complete picture. The seeming arbitrariness or weakness of Xerxes in granting the conditions which produced a civil war in his realm is in perfect accord with an absolute monarch whose merest caprice might become law.

After everything is said, the most probable conclusion is that the book was written in the Persian period, not far from the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon (406-359 B. C.), by a Susian Jew, who was perfectly familiar with the palace, and with Persian history, and with Persian institutions and customs. His purpose was to preserve for his people the origin and significance of the feast of Purim.

CHAPTER XXII

THE HITTITES

246. Among the great nations that came into contact with Israel, there is none more enveloped by clouds of mystery than the Hittites. While it is true that we possess notable specimens of art and a goodly number of beautiful Hittite inscriptions, we are still unable to translate more than a few characters, and these mainly in proper names. Our knowledge of that race consequently must be gathered from other than Hittite sources. Hebrew, Egyptian, Assyrian, and Armenian documents contribute something of value to our knowledge of their history. Egyptian art also preserves some marvellous portraits of these powerful people. The mountain passes of Asia Minor are still flanked by curious rock-sculptures, representing scenes in the life of these early mountaineers.

247. "The land of the Hittites" (Josh. i. 4) is specified as within the borders promised the invading Israelites, located, however, in the extreme north. This territory was a battle-ground for long ages for the armies of Egypt, of Syria, of Israel, of Assyria, and of Babylon. From this locality the Hittites

migrated to found the little colony in Palestine, which came in such close contact with the patriarchs (cf. 54). It was with this northern territory that Solomon carried on extensive commercial relations. In fact, throughout the centuries between 1300 and 750 B. C., the Hittites were an element among the nations of western Asia which had to be taken into account (cf. 53-54).

248. The earliest mention of the Hittites is found in the records of the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt. The record of the famous campaign of Thothmes III, in which he penetrated as far as the banks of the Euphrates, notes the fact that he received the tribute of 'the land of the Hittites.' The Tel el-Amarna letters, dating from the times of Amenophis III and IV of this same dynasty contain more than thirty references to these people. Although in part subjects of Egypt, they were aggressively hostile toward her. These letters reveal the anxiety and the energy of Egypt's faithful northern or Syrian dependents. A few extracts will suffice to show how these frontiersmen were disturbing and threatening the peace of the land. In a letter of Aziru, a Phœnician governor, to Dudu, an intercessor in the Egyptian court, we find (Berlin Coll. No. 38, 21-24): "But my lord, the king of the Hittites has marched into Nukhasse, and the cities are not strong enough to throw off the yoke of the king of the Hittites." And (Berl. Coll. 31, 21-24): "The

king of the Hittites is staying in Nukhasse, and I fear him; I am watching lest he go to Martu." Also (Berl. Coll. 33, 38-41): "And now he is staying in Nukhasse; there are two roads to Tunip, and I fear its fall, that Tunip will not be able to resist (him)." In this same letter he begs for troops that he may defend the king's possessions against the inroads of these hostile aggressors. Again, we find a native garrison defending the king's possessions (Berl. Coll. 160, 8-26): "Behold, we were encamped against the cities in the land of the Amki for my lord, the king, when Idagama, the prince of Kinza, marched upon us, at the head of the Hittite soldiers . . . . . let my lord, the king, grant troops, that we may possess the cities of my lord, the king, and that we may live in the cities of my lord, the king, my god, and my sun." These quotations suffice to prove the presence of the Hittites in the region of the north Syrian provinces of Egypt, and that they were a perpetual menace to the peace and security of these districts.

249. The decline and fall of the XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt, gave the Hittites their opportunity, and they occupied as their chief fortress, Kadesh on the Orontes and Carchemish on the Euphrates rivers. These were great commercial centres, as well as strong military fortresses. From these as bases the Hittites crowded still farther south, into central Syria. The kings of the XIXth dynasty very early turned their attention toward Asia. The Hittites,

HITTITES

A KING OF THE HITTITES

now in possession of first-rate strongholds, and of considerable military experience, were a formidable foe. But Seti I and after him, his son, Rameses II, kept up a vigorous succession of campaigns, until in the fifth year of the latter, when what seems to have been a drawn battle was fought within easy reach of Kadesh. The conclusion of these struggles was that remarkable offensive and defensive treaty, formally signed in the twenty-first year of Rameses II. Among many other provisions of this document, we find: "He [Rameses] shall be my ally, he shall be my friend: I will be his ally; I will be his friend: forever." This document was attested by the gods of Egypt and the Hittites; and the Hittite copy was engraved on a silver plate and presented to the king of Egypt. This left the Hittites in possession of the two great fastnesses, Kadesh and Carchemish.

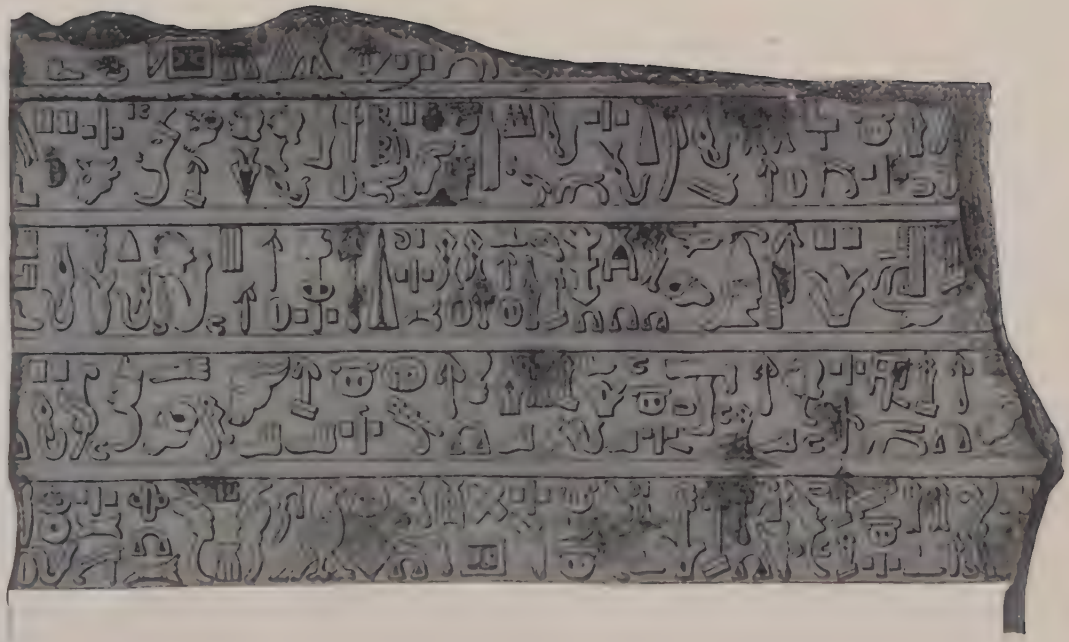
250. There are incidental references to the Hittites in the inscriptions of some of the kings of Assyria preceding Shalmaneser II. But in the records of this king, who defeated Ahab, and received the tribute of Jehu, we find, in the sixth year of his reign, that he received

"the tribute of the kings on the farther side of the Euphrates, Sangar of Carchemish, Kundashpi of Kumukh, Arame, son of Gusi, Lalli of Milid, Chayani, son of Gabari, Kalparuda of Patin, Kalparuda of Gamgum, silver, gold, lead, copper, vessels of copper, I received at Asshur-utir-atsbat on that side of the Euphrates, above Sagur, which the Hittites call Pitru (Pethor)."

These were presumably Hittite governors who rendered ready submission to the powerful Assyrian forces. On the obelisk (Face D, top, l. 59-64) Shalmaneser says of the confederacy that met him at Karkar:

> "Then Hadadezer, king of the country of Emerishu (Damascus), Irkhulina of the country of the Hamathites, together with the kings of the country of the Hittites and of the coast of the sea. . . . . I fought with them, I defeated them."

It is apparent, then, that a part of the Hittite princes were divided in their attitude toward Assyria. But the open opponents of Assyria's aggressions were brought to their knees in the battle of Karkar. In fact, the army of Assyria was so overwhelmingly superior, that the Hittites could offer no successful resistance. Tiglath-pileser III (745-27 B. C.) collected tribute from the Hittites as soon as he had established his authority in this territory of northern Syria. One of the places often mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions from 860 B. C. downward was Sam'al. Curiously enough, the German excavators at Senjirli in 1888-91 found an old Aramaic inscription of Panammû of Sam'al. Tiglath-pileser III twice mentions Panammû of Sam'al as his tributary; once he is found among such names as "Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, Pisiris of Carchemish, and Eniel of Hamath." This list comprises tributary princes and kings from Samaria to



A HITTITE INSCRIPTION
(On the back of a basalt figure from Jerabis, now in the British Museum)

the Taurus mountains. There is some inferential evidence that the Aramæans were gradually conquering and absorbing the territory formerly occupied by the Hittites. This new inscription, for example, has its characters, in contradistinction to the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phœnician, cut in relief like the Hittites, a mark apparently of Hittite influence on their invaders. But this old people were on the decline. They gradually waned until 717 B. C., when Sargon crushed their capital, Carchemish. This was their final struggle, and their names thereafter practically disappear from the pages of history.

251. Whence came the Hittites? The verdict of the Egyptian inscriptions, of the Tel el-Amarna cuneiform tablets, of the records of the Assyrian kings, is that they came down from the north, from the Taurus mountains, and probably from Cappadocia. The places of the discovery of their inscriptions and sculptures would indicate that their power in Asia Minor extended as far west as Lydia, and on the south to Hamath. Their inscriptions are not all alike. Some are not far removed from the original pictures, while others bear slight resemblances to any known objects. This would not be strange, as the Hittites were a distinct nation for nearly one thousand years,—quite long enough for the development of more than one style of writing. Until their own records are translatable, we shall be obliged to be satisfied with such information as their neighbors have preserved for us.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ARAMÆANS

252. "Aramæans" is a term comprehensive of the peoples of northwestern Mesopotamia, and of northern and central Syria, as far south as the northern limits of Palestine proper. Our sources of information regarding these races and localities are widely scattered. They are found in the Egyptian records of Thothmes III, in the Tel el-Amarna tablets of the fifteenth century B. C., in the annals of the early Babylonian kings who overran this West-land, and in the royal records of the Assyrian monarchs of the later centuries of the Assyrian empire. We are also so fortunate as to possess a few of the original documents of these peoples, dating especially from the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. To this knowledge may be added some excellent portraits of these races, due to the skill of Egyptian artists, and found in their decorated tomb-chambers.

253. The Aramæans, or 'Syrians,' occupy a prominent place in the Old Testament. 'Aram' (Gen. x. 22, 23) was a son of Shem, as were Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, and Lud. He was father of Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash—the last occurring in

the inscriptions of Assurbanipal as 'Mas,' the name of a people occupying the desert east of Palestine. Aram is also given (Gen. xxii. 21-23) as the grandson of Nahor, brother of Abraham. These genealogical lists would locate Aram in proximity to his brethren. They further indicate that we are to look for the descendants of Nahor in the region of Harran, the northwestern halting-place of Terah's caravan or colony (Gen. xi. 31), which had migrated from Ur of the Chaldees. To this same territory came Abraham's servant to seek a wife for his son Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 4, 10, 15; xxv. 20). This country of Nahor appears under the name of Paddan-Aram in several passages (xxv. 20; xxxi. 18; xxxv. 9, 26; xlvi. 15). It was the land to which Isaac sent Jacob when he fled from the wrath of Esau (xxviii. 5-7), that there he might be associated with his mother's kin, and be at a safe distance from the wickedness of the Canaanites. From Aram-naharaim ("Aram of the two rivers"), the country lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers, came Cushan-rishathaim to oppress Israel for eight years (Judg. iii. 8-10), just after their settlement in the land of Canaan. It was from Aram that Balak called Balaam the magician to curse for him the camp of the invading Israelites (Num. xxiii. 7). When Hadadezer of Zobah fought with the armies of Israel, he summoned to his aid the Aramæans "beyond the River" (2 Sam. x. 16). This biblical division of Aram embraced, then, northern and

northwestern Mesopotamia, in the midst of which was located that great commercial and religious centre, Harran.

254. Aram of Mesopotamia is well-known in the inscriptions. The kingdom of the Mitanni on the east bank of the Euphrates, was taken by Thothmes III while on his famous Asiatic campaign. According to the Tel el-Amarna letters the royal households of this kingdom furnished the princess Teie as a wife for Amenophis III of Egypt, and his son, Amenophis IV, now half-Asiatic, also married a Mitannian or Mesopotamian princess. This action of the Egyptian royalty finally resulted in the overthrow of the XVIIIth dynasty (cf. 89). These same Mitannians also took part in a campaign that attacked Egypt in the time of Rameses III.

The Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (1120 B. C.), of Assurnatsirpal III, represent the 'Arumu,' the 'Arimu' as peoples who occupied territory either on the east or west bank of the Euphrates river. Among their conquests they name as Arumu peoples dwelling in southern Armenia and in Babylonia. Their use of the term was probably very general, and slight weight should be attached to their classifications. It is at least apparent that the Aramæans in and about Harran were closely related to those settled between the Euphrates and the Orontes rivers.

255. These Aramæans of northern Syria, doubtless the same peoples, in the main, as those east of the

river, are mentioned in the Old Testament under several names. Though racially one with the occupants of central Syria centered at Damascus, they still possessed characteristics. There were several prosperous Aramæan cities in this northern territory. Saul seems to have fought with the kings of Zobah (1 Sam. xiv. 47), one of whom in David's time was Hadadezer, son of Rehob (2 Sam. viii. 3-12), who was smitten by Israel as he attempted to recover his borders in the north. Hadadezer summoned all of his allies from beyond (east of) the Euphrates, and from Damascus in the south, to meet the armies of David, but only to meet a disastrous defeat that gave Israel supremacy as far as the Euphrates. The subjugation of Hadadezer gave David the ready submission and thanks of Toi of Hamath, for Hadadezer had been his enemy. David's victories put into his hands all the great cities in northern Syria, Betah (Tibhath in 1 Chron. xviii. 10), Berothai, Hamath, and Helam (possibly Assyr. Chalman). From these he took as booty immense quantities of valuable metals. At a subsequent time, the people of Beth-rehob, and the Aramæans of Zobah joined the Ammonites to resist the aggressions of David's army (2 Sam. x. 6-18), but to no purpose. Another combination meets the same fate, and David is undisputed ruler of Syria. Under Solomon this territory fell into the hands of Rezon, an earlier vassal of the king of Zobah (1 Kings xi. 23-25). Rezon soon acquired supremacy over all

Syria west of the Euphrates, with Damascus as his capital.

256. This same northern territory of Syria is familiar country on the monuments. In the quotations from the Tel el-Amarna tablets (248) it was called Nukhasse. Its proximity to the Hittites continually tempted them to raid it and seize it. Every great Assyrian campaign, from Shalmaneser down to Assurbanipal, that crossed the Euphrates, foraged upon its fertile fields, and stormed and captured its cities. The confederacy met by Shalmaneser II at Karkar was largely made up of Aramæans, most of them from this northern territory. One of the points of interest in this section of Syria was Sam'al, a city or country twice mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. Its king, Panammû II, allied himself with the Assyrian king, and was rewarded therefor by a gift of some towns near Gurgum. He afterward died in the Assyrian camp before Damascus (in 733 B. C.). His inscription (250), with its characters cut in relief as those of the Hittites, was erected by himself to the sacred memory of his father.

The language of these peoples, as those east of the Euphrates, was Aramaic, a Semitic tongue closely connected with the Hebrew.

257. But the Aramæans of which we hear most in the Old Testament, were those who occupied central Syria, with Damascus as the capital city. From the successful rebellion of Rezon against the supremacy

A SEMITIC SYRIAN
(Egyptian bas-relief)

A NORTH SYRIAN
(Of Yanuâmu)

A JUDEAN
OF SHISHAK'S DAY
(Governor of Gannata

A NORTH SYRIAN
(Of Aya near the Afrin)

A SYRIAN ENVOY
(XIIth Dynasty)

A SYRIAN OF MEROM
(Egyptian bas-relief)

A GROUP OF SYRIANS (ARAMÆANS)

of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 23-25) down to the overthrow of Damascus by Tiglath-pileser III (in 732 B. C.), Syria was almost a continuel menace to the peace of Israel. With her capital, Damascus, located on the commercial highway between the East and the West, she had practically independent financial resources. Our first reference to her after the division of the kingdom, is found in the account of Asa's career (1 Kings xv. 16 ff.). Ben-hadad of Damascus and Baasha of Israel had formed a league. Baasha's aggressive action against Judah led Asa to plunder the temple, and with the treasures to bribe Ben-hadad to break off his allegiance to Israel's king. The game was successful, and Syria raided the northern portions of Israel's possessions.

In the reign of Ahab "Ben-hadad, king of Syria, gathered all his host together . . . . . and he went up and besieged Samaria and fought against it" (1 Kings xx. 1 ff.). The outcome of this siege was the defeat and flight of the Syrians (vs. 20). In the next year the war was renewed, and the battle was fought at Aphek, where the God of the Hebrews proved himself to be a God of the valleys as well as of the mountains. Syria was defeated, and a marvellous treaty was signed, indicative of the political situation in the far north (130). Doubtless the invasion of Shalmaneser II made mutual friends of these former enemies during the years of threatened invasion. Ahab, however, lost his life in a battle

with Syria at Ramoth-gilead. Syria began to pursue her old methods of raiding Israel (2 Kings v. 2). And the raiding grew into systematic invasion. Elisha the prophet forewarned the king of Israel, and the Syrians were thwarted more than once in their intended attacks (2 Kings vi. 8-10). Ben-hadad, however, made one desperate strike at Samaria. The city was almost starved to capitulation, when the besieging Syrians heard "a noise of a great host: and they said to one another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us" (2 Kings vii. 6). This produced a pell-mell flight, in which all their camps and valuables were left behind them.

258. Subsequently, upon a visit of Elisha to Damascus, Ben-hadad was smothered by a damp cloth by Hazael, who succeeded him as king. This was the advent of troublous times for Israel. Hazael inaugurated offensive warfare of a vigorous and cruel type. Ramoth-gilead, east of Jordan, was the place of Ahab's final stand and fall; and now Joram, son of Ahab, with Ahaziah, his nephew, meets the same army under Ben-hadad's successor, Hazael. The result seems to have been in favor of Israel (2 Kings ix. 14), though Joram was severely wounded. After the accession of Jehu we find (2 Kings x. 32, 33): "In those days Jehovah began to cut Israel short: and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel; from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites,

and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer which is by the valley of Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan." The invasions of Shalmaneser in 842 and 839, were carried on with great vigor against the king of Damascus. Hazael was caged up within the walls of his city, his country was ravaged, his dependent provinces plundered and destroyed, but his royal city was not taken (cf. 136). The withdrawal of Assyria's troops was simply a signal of warning to the peoples near him. Gath fell before his arms, and Jerusalem was saved only by the valuable treasures turned into his hands, by Joash, king of Judah. "And the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel (under Jehoahaz), and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael, king of Syria, and into the hand of Ben-hadad, the son of Hazael, continually" (2 Kings xiii. 3). "For he left not to Jehoahaz of the people, save fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen; for the king of Syria destroyed them, and made them like the dust in threshing" (vs. 7). "And Hazael, king of Syria, oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz" (vs. 22). These brief quotations from Kings and from Shalmaneser's inscriptions mark Hazael as a king of exceptional ability. Under his administration Syria and Damascus were of first importance in the West-land. No power crushed him, though he defied every people within reach. He was practically master of all central and southern Syria, including Palestine.

259. The successor of Hazael was his son, Ben-hadad (III). In 806, Adad-nirari (812-783 B. C.) made an expedition into this West-land. He swept the land of Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia. The most important of all his conquests was the city of Damascus, of which special note is made in the summary of his expeditions. The king of Damascus, according to the Assyrian annals, was Mari', an Aramaic word for 'lord.' There is no room for him in our list of Syrian kings, unless he is identical with Ben-hadad III, son of Hazael (2 Kings xiii. 24). The capture of Damascus marked an epoch in the history of Syria. Its formidable power, always a menace to Israel, was broken. Henceforth its resistance was materially reduced. At some point in this period of Syria's history, Joash of Israel is said (2 Kings xiii. 14-17, 25) to have smitten Syria three times. Soon thereafter Jeroboam II, son of Joash, taking advantage of Syria's weakness, subjected her territory, including the city of Damascus, and annexed it to Israel. The whole Syrian domain thus fell into the hands of the northern kingdom.

260. In 742 B. C., Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.) arrived in the West-land. Arpad, in northern Syria, withstood him for three years, but was finally obliged to yield. He turned his attention to the smaller cities and peoples to the south, and gives in a list of tributaries, "Rezon of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria" (148). After the

reception of tribute and partial establishment of his authority, Tiglath-pileser returned to Assyria to look after other subjects. This gave the ambitious king of Damascus his desired opportunity. He persuaded the new king of Israel, Pekah, to join him in a coalition against the authority of Assyria. These two attempted to force Ahaz into the combination. But he appealed for help to the oncoming conqueror. Damascus was besieged, and in 732, though the Assyrian annals are very fragmentary, was captured, 'Rezin' slain, and its chief inhabitants carried captive to Kir, possibly some point in Armenia. The king of Assyria plundered and carried away captive all the northern and eastern territory of Israel. This was the final and fatal stroke to Syria. Thereafter she assumed no prominence as a nation among the nations. She was merely a prosperous tributary of some greater power, and her influence was mainly commercial.

261. Syria's system of worship is occasionally referred to in the Old Testament. After Naaman, captain of the host of Syria, had been healed of his leprosy by dipping in the Jordan, he requested of Elisha (2 Kings v. 18) that when he should offer sacrifice to Jehovah, he might be pardoned for going with his master into the house of Rimmon, and bowing himself in the house of Rimmon. This god was probably identical with the Assyrian Ramman, the weather-god. Another deity of prominence was

Hadad, or Addu, formed in such proper names as Hadadezer, Hadad-Rimmon (Zech. xii. 11), and Ben-hadad. On the Panammû inscription from Senjirli (250) we find this: "And this memorial is the . . . . . of Hadad and El and Rekub-el, the lord of the house, and Shemesh and the gods of Ja'di." Other less prominent deities are mentioned incidentally in Aramæan inscriptions from other sections of western Asia. Enough has been said to show that Israel had just on her northern borders a powerful people, kin by blood, rivals in politics, and diverse in worship. Marks of their lives can be seen in many places on the national life of Israel. And evidence of her vigor and strength, and of the verity of the Old Testament's statements, comes from many widely distributed monuments and peoples.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SAMARITANS

262. The principal bond of union in the government of ancient oriental monarchies was force. This stubborn fact made perpetual demands on the vigilance and the strength of the standing army of the ruler. If for any reason there was a sign of weakness, or of vacillation on the part of the right arm of control, it was regarded by provincial subjects as a call to arms, a trumpet blast announcing a revolution. There was another occasion also that was always anticipated by the "man in power" with thoughts of alarm and terror. It was the critical moment when the authority must be transferred from father to son. Instead of the legitimate heir, a usurper was ever a dread possibility. The death of the king always carried with it a contingent upheaval. As soon as the pressure was removed, expansive human nature rebounded to its old conditions of liberty and independence. This fact largely accounts for the mercurial power of many ancient monarchies. The accession of each successive ruler usually meant the resubjugation of most of the peoples of his royal heritage. If he was equal to this initial demand on his military ability, he thereby laid the foundations

for a successful oriental realm. But if he exhausted his resources in securing and maintaining the homage of no more than his home subjects, his reign was not an oriental success, to be displayed in loud-sounding phrases in the royal annals.

263. Early conquerors and rulers had taken one precaution against the possible secession of their new subjects. They had been accustomed from time immemorial to carry away from conquered lands large numbers of captives. These were either used as slaves in the prosecution of large building enterprises, or sold to be transported to the great slave marts of the world. In either case they added to the resources of their government. The provinces, too, from which they had been wrested would be less able in the future to offer a troublesome resistance to royal demands. This policy was in vogue many centuries, apparently, before it became evident that its results were disastrous to the provincial prosperity of the kingdom. The deportation of the most thrifty of the population, the transfer to Assyria of the best of the cattle, and the robbing of the treasures of the captured state, brought about but one condition of things. And that was a depleted and discouraged people, a severe diminution in the amount of products of the soil, and an abject dependence on higher authorities for their direction and inspiration. This would naturally centralize at the capital the prosperity, the authority, and the power of the kingdom.

264. But the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.) opened a new era in Assyrian history. He ventured early in his reign to inaugurate a new policy for his provinces. For a purely military control of dependencies, established and executed by his royal predecessors, he organized a system of civil government, in which the governed had some part. And in order to compensate in part for the deportation of the population, and the depletion of land values, Tiglath-pileser introduced a new measure. The impoverished country was not left to grow up wild and to be the haunts of wild beasts. Into this territory he imported peoples from other conquered lands. These were carried from different provinces, so that, with little community of blood or language, they might be less liable to combine in rebellion against their master. This policy threw together peoples of the most diverse customs, habits, and religion. They spoke different languages, and were descendants of widely separated nationalities. The results of such aggregations of diverse peoples were often very strange.

265. The land of Israel had been often plundered by almost all of its neighboring peoples, but the disastrous and devastating raids of Assyria surpassed these in their permanent damage to the country. Tiglath-pileser III had carried off multitudes from East of the Jordan and from northern Israel. Shal-

maneser IV (727-722 B. C.) had received the kingdom of Tiglath-pileser III, including the territory and people of the ten tribes. Early in his reign, Hoshea had plotted rebellion, but was forgiven on payment of tribute. An attempt to form a league with a Shabi of Egypt against Assyria was discovered, and the Israelitish king captured and put in chains. Shalmaneser spoiled the country, looted the cities, carried off its population, and besieged their capital city, Samaria. At the accession of his successor, Sargon II, the city yielded to the horrors of the siege. Sargon carried away 27,290 of its inhabitants and distributed them "in Halah, and in Habor, *on* the river Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (159). The country, robbed of its population, and the city itself now fallen and spoiled and deprived of its most valuable citizens, were on the down grade towards a rapid destruction.

266. The Old Testament recognizes the new Assyrian policy of importation or immigration when it says (2 Kings xvii. 24): "And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel, and they possessed Samaria and dwelt in the cities thereof." Sargon also preserves one reference to his own policy on this subject (Annals, 95-97): "The tribes of the Tamud, Ibadid, Marsiman, Chayapa, the distant Arabians who inhabit the desert,

whom no scholar or writer knew, who had paid tribute to no king, I smote in the service of Asshur my lord, the remaining inhabitants I carried away and settled in Samaria." The Kings and Sargon's records together name nine different peoples who were thus transported from as many different places and put down in the country about Samaria to build the waste places, to cultivate the soil, and to yield tribute for the great king. From the names in the lists we find peoples from the desert, probably tribes of Arabs, peoples from Hamath in the extreme northern end of Syria, if indeed it were not just before this a city of the Hittites, also some from Babylon, Cuthah, and Sippar. It is not improbable that Sargon purposely planted in this colony enough of the Babylonian element to determine the prevailing character of the resultant.

267. The immediate consequences of such an aggregation of religious views are given in 2 Kings. It is said (2 Kings xvii. 25-28) that at the beginning, probably because of the long scarcity of population, the peoples were plagued by the number of lions in the land. Complaint was made to the king of Assyria that this was because they knew "not the manner of the God of the land." He issued an order and they brought to Samaria one of the priests who had been carried into captivity, that he might teach the people of the land how to serve Jehovah. Then we have a description (2 Kings xvii. 29-33) of the

religious result of this experiment: "Howbeit every nation made gods of their own and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt. And the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim. So they feared Jehovah, and made unto them from among themselves priests of the high places which sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places. They feared Jehovah and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations from among whom they had been carried away." This was the syncretistic form of worship which resulted soon after the plantings of Sargon on this northern soil of Palestine. The compiler of 2 Kings does not wish to be misunderstood, and so he concludes his chapter (xvii.) thus: "So these nations feared Jehovah, and served their graven images; their children likewise, and their children's children, as did their fathers so do they unto this day."

268. It is evident from further references in Ezra that the country must have been only sparsely occupied by the importations of Sargon. Subsequent kings found here an asylum for malcontents from different parts of their kingdoms. When the exiles that had returned with Zerubbabel (537 B. C.) from Baby-

lon began, according to the authorization of Cyrus (Ezra iv. 3), to build a temple at Jerusalem, the peoples of Samaria said unto them: "Let us build with you: for we seek your God as ye do; and (mg.) we do no sacrifice unto him since the days of Esarhaddon king of Assyria (681-668 B. C.), which brought us up hither" (Ezra iv. 2). This coalescence of such diverse peoples by persistent opposition to the Jews, finally succeeded in frustrating all their plans, and in fully checking for the time being the work of rebuilding the temple. After fifteen years' delay, however, under a reauthorization of another king, Darius Hystaspes, work was resumed and the temple was completed and dedicated in 516 B. C. Yet it was done in the face of the persistent and malicious opposition of their neighbors.

269. This Palestinian colony of Jews suffered by reason of the continuous taunts and jeers of the Samaritans. Probably early in the reign of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B. C.), the Jews again arose to build their city. This time they were fiercely opposed by their neighbor adversaries. Protests on the ground availing them nothing, they dispatched a letter to the king of Persia. The parties to this protest were "the Dinaites and the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Shushanchites, the Dehaites, the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Osnappar (Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, 668-626 B. C.)

brought over and set in the city of Samaria, and in the rest *of the country* beyond the river" (Ezra iv. 9, 10). The composition of this conglomerate is unparalleled. Here are nine different peoples—though the last clause of the quotation might lead us to suspect that they occupied territory quite outside of that usually assigned to the Samaritans. It is at least significant that all these peoples, wherever located, were involved in the public protest to the active building operations of the Jews.

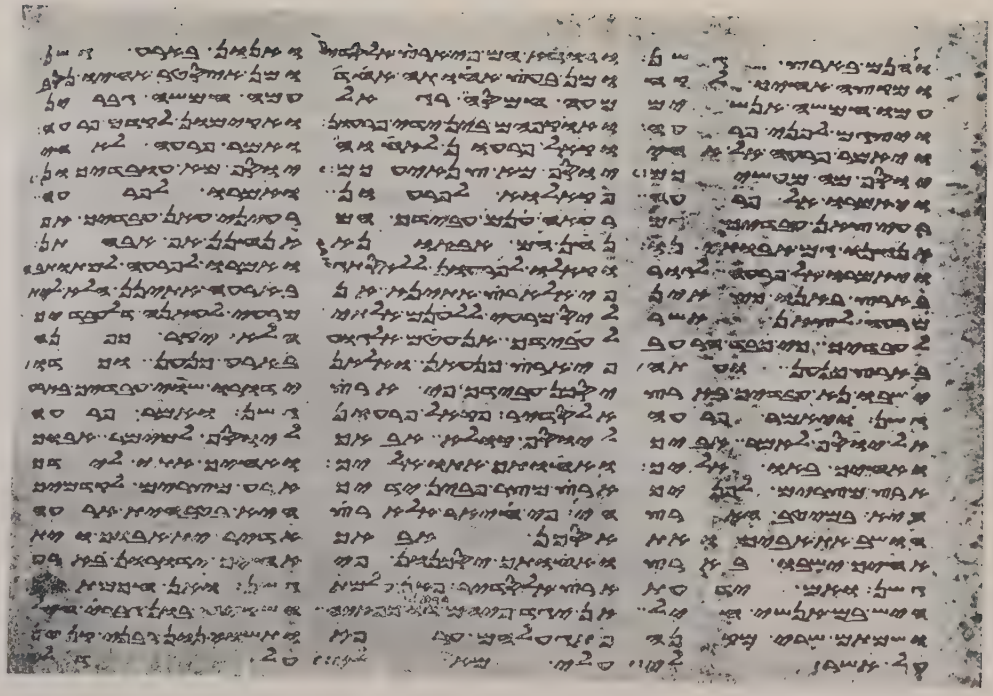
270. It must now be apparent that this so-called colony of the Samaritans was a heterogeneous conglomerate. Sargon II (722-705 B. C.) imported Hamathites, Babylonians from several rebellious cities, and four tribes of Arabs from the desert. Esarhaddon (681-668 B. C.) also added to this composite, while Assurbanipal (668-626 B. C.) transported to this territory Elamites, Shushanites, and several other distant peoples. These, mingled with the poor Jews left in the country after Shalmaneser's and Sargon's deportations, give us the basis, the racial material, out of which sprang the later Samaritans. The gods of all these peoples, set up and worshiped, not by each exclusively, but by any who would, give us a mingled worship equaled nowhere else in ancient history. Naturally the Jews, if cognizant of all of the claims of Jehovah, would assiduously avoid all contact with the very thing that had undermined and overthrown the kingdom of their fathers.

271. In spite of these marks of open antagonism to every advance step of the Jews, it is certain that long years of living side by side somewhat cooled that ardor. In fact, their relations became so mollified and agreeable by the time of Ezra's return (458 B. C.) that intermarriages were not infrequent. And these were current not simply among the common people, but "the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass" (Ezra ix. 2). The early opposition of Zerubbabel to uniting with these peoples apparently had availed nothing, and the Jews were again freely mingling with the most vicious of idolaters. Ezra's drastic measures (Ezra x. 11), inhuman as they were, seemed to be the speediest and most effective means of stamping out the evil. But the Jews were almost surrounded by peoples who were ready at every opportunity to strike them a deathblow. Ezra's enforced separation of heathen wives from their Jewish husbands had doubtless no small part in kindling against the Jews new fires of enmity. The liberal Samaritans and other nationalities now had a new and valid reason for crushing the hated Jew.

272. Several years (445 B. C.) after the reforms of Ezra, Nehemiah returned from Persia to build the walls of Jerusalem. The first report of this fact that reached the ears of the enemy (Neh. iv. 1) aroused new opposition. Sanballat the Horonite, a leading Samaritan, derided the Jews in the presence of the

Samaritan troops: "What do these feeble Jews?" (Neh. iv. 2). Tobiah the Ammonite, one of his aids, said (Ezra iv. 3): "Even that which they build, if a fox go up he shall break their stone wall." Repeated attempts were made by these leaders to check the enthusiasm of Nehemiah, but to no purpose. Then a coalition of enemies was formed of Sanballat, Tobiah, Geshem, the Arabians possibly those settled near Samaria by Sargon II, the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, to stop the wall-building of Nehemiah. The unswerving will of Nehemiah pushed ahead, despite all the warnings and words of opposition. He was five times invited to a conference at Ono, but turned not aside from his steadfast purpose, to step into a trap of the foe. Bribery was the next means adopted to catch him, or slander him. "Shemaiah, the son of Delaiah" (Neh. vi. 10) was hired by Tobiah and Sanballat to induce Nehemiah, a layman, to hide from a would-be murderer in the sacred temple courts. This ruse also failed. And the builders, armed for defense and service, finished the repairing of the walls in fifty-two days, to the dismay of their sworn antagonists.

273. The vigorous reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah widened the gulf between the Jews and their neighbors, especially between them and the Samaritans. In 436 (Neh. xiii. 6) Nehemiah returned to Persia. After some time he returned to Jerusalem, to find that mixed marriages were still in vogue, especially



SAMARITAN DIALECT ARABIC IN SAMARITAN CHARACTERS SAMARITAN

SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH (Gen. xlvii. 1-6)
(Written in 1277 A. D., now in Rome)

among some of the country population (xiii. 23-25). These he roundly cursed and beat, and put them under oath not to continue the practice for their children. But of most significance was the discovery that one of the grandsons (Manasseh) of the high-priest Eliashib, had become son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite, the most representative Samaritan who had opposed the work of Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 28). Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 8, 2) tells us that Manasseh preferred rather to lose his wife than the high-priest's office in Jerusalem. Sanballat promised him, if he would retain his wife and forsake Jerusalem, that he would build a temple for him on Mount Gerizim like that at Jerusalem, and would see that Darius bestowed on him a high-priesthood. Elated by these promises, he forsook Jerusalem and its temple, bearing toward it only feelings of bitterness and enmity.

274. This event practically terminated the friendly relations of the Jews and the Samaritans. It was also the turning-point in the religious life of the latter. A temple was built on Mount Gerizim, as a rival of that in Jerusalem. Its new and first high-priest, Manasseh, carried from Jerusalem sufficient reverence for the law to make it the basis of worship. His and his relatives' influence seem to have counteracted and overcome the semi-heathen idolatry of the mingled peoples, and to have successfully contended for the pure worship of Jehovah.

It is quite beyond our purpose to follow down to

the present day the history of this peculiar people. We have seen how they originated, what species of worship they adopted, their attitude toward the Jews in the restoration period, and one of the chief causes of the rupture between them and the Jewish colony. Suffice it to say that they adopted as their Bible the Pentateuch. Their strict exclusiveness through all the centuries has preserved them. And to-day about one hundred and fifty of these devoted worshipers are found at Nablus, at the foot of their holy mountain, Gerizim.

CHAPTER XXV

OUR NEW OLD TESTAMENT

275. Our old Old Testament of the beginning of this century has now become a new Old Testament. This rejuvenation of the old book is due to the large progress made in explorations, discoveries, and decipherment of antiquities during the present century, and preëminently during the last half of it. Almost every Bible land has been laid under tribute to this cause, and some of them have poured into our archæological coffers more than we can as yet measure or interpret. Private and public expeditions are at work to-day in several of these oriental lands, and they promise to yield fruit as fast as we can care for it. Remains of all the principal peoples mentioned in the Old Testament now decorate the cases of our museums, and tons of new material are being gathered in at the end of every season. This work cannot be too strongly supported. Every additional fact added to our knowledge simply elucidates some hitherto unexplained difficulty, and every spade plunged into an oriental mound is merely a step toward the discovery of some new fact.

276. The scope of the results of these discoveries

is immeasurable. They touch almost every part of the Old Testament. The preceding chapters have indicated to some extent their significance, though it was manifestly impossible to treat every department of the Old Testament affected by the monuments, in so limited a compass. The largest contribution is that made to the historical setting of the children of Israel in the different periods of their history. Archæology comes in for no small share in the permanent good derived from this source. A new and definite location of events formerly assigned to semi-oblivion gives additional vividness to the narrative. The determination of the exact time of the occurrence of events has also added interest to many of the facts in the Old Testament. But there is no more fascinating department of new information than that pertaining to the ethnology of early oriental peoples. There are few names of peoples now remaining in the Old Testament about whom we have not secured some new facts. The religions, too, of the contemporaneous nations are better known than they were a half-century ago. The meanings of some words in the Old Testament have assumed a new importance since the opening of the magical Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform tongue, a half-sister to the Hebrew. This larger meaning for the words of the Old Testament assures us of a better understanding of the original Hebrew, and a more expressive and sym-

TRIBUTE OF JEHU, SON OF OMRI SILVER

GOLD BOWLS OF GOLD CHALICES OF GOLD

PROCESSION OF JEWS PAYING TRIBUTE TO SHALMANESER II
(From the second group around the Black Obelisk)

CUPS OF GOLD BUCKETS OF GOLD LEAD

A ROYAL SCEPTRE STAVES I RECEIVED

PROCESSION OF JEWS PAYING TRIBUTE TO SHALMANESER II
(From the second group around the Black Obelisk)

pathetic meaning for the words penned by the writers of the Old Testament.

277. In surveying the whole sweep of discoveries in the historical line, one may well be amazed at the galaxy of characters now drawn up to view. Beginning back at the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, we find evidence of the existence of the leader, Chedorlaomer, of the great Elamite campaign against the cities of the plain. The probabilities of a Hyksos domination in Egypt when Abram and Joseph reached the Nile-land are increasing with each new Egyptian discovery touching this period. The possession at Gizeh Museum of the mummy of the Pharaoh of the oppression, Rameses II, and a tablet of the time of Meneptah II, bearing the name "Israel," add great vividness to the bondage of Israel in Egypt. Portraits of some of the Canaanitish peoples show us the kind of soldiers that disputed with Joshua the occupation of the promised land. Shishak's portrait of his captives from Canaan bears evidence on the face of it of the verity of the Kings record of that event. The Moabite stone tells us that Mesha of Moab (2 Kings iii. 4) was no less a king than represented by the compiler of Kings. Shalmaneser II's own record bears testimony to the existence of Ahab, of Benhadad, and Hazael of Damascus, and of "Jehu son of Omri." Tiglath-pileser III has left most valuable documents in which he mentions Azariah (Uzziah)

and Ahaz of Judah, and Menahem, Pekah, and Hoshea of Israel, and Rezin of Damascus. Sargon II describes his capture of Samaria, and of Ashdod. Sennacherib's records are full of facts regarding his illustrious campaign of 701 B. C., where we find Hezekiah mentioned by name, the siege of Lachish pictured on his walls, and the amount of tribute paid the invader. Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal both mention in their lists of tributaries Manasseh of Judah. The overthrow of Nineveh, pictured in Nahum, is attested by a small inscription of Nabonidus. The policy of Nebuchadrezzar, and his administrative ability, are evident in his own records. The annals of Nabonidus and of Cyrus picture the fall of Babylon and the governmental policy of Cyrus outlined in the Old Testament. Belshazzar is seen to be the son, co-regent, of Nabonidus, the last Semitic king of Babylon. The construction of the palace of Susa is found to correspond in every important respect to the descriptions of the book of Esther. In brief, we now have several new and corroborative chapters of history, as one immediate result of the decipherment of the new documents dug out of the earth within the last half-century.

278. The archæology of those days is also a new theme. The Old Testament representations of the laws and customs of social and political life have often aroused sharp criticism. The repulsive character of the religious rites of some of those old nations has

often been remarked. And the commercial enterprise of some of those old peoples was thought to be an exaggeration. But now, in reading the records of the peoples about whom the Old Testament made such representations, we are surprised at the faithfulness of the sketch to the true picture. The unsavory character of Phœnician Baal worship as depicted in the Old Testament is seen in the records of Phœnicia to have been still more debasing and horrible. We have also discovered that Israel possessed, in common with other Semitic peoples, many of her social, political, and religious customs. Most of the religious rites adopted by Israel were current among her kin. We find the ark, laws of purifications, offerings, circumcision, and numerous other rites among other Semitic tribes of that day. Their adoption by Israel was their consecration to the service of one God instead of to the many of her neighbors. This community of customs constituted one of the open doors for Israel to enter into the idolatrous ways of her neighbors. Common blood, common customs, and a common language were a long step toward common methods of worship. There are other points, and many of them, where the archæology of the Old Testament has received great impetus from the records of the past.

279. It is with a new zest that Bible students now sit down to draw a map, for instance, of the empire of Thothmes III, Rameses II, or of Shalmaneser II. We

can specify almost the boundary lines established by those old kings. In some cases, as that at Dog River, we find their boundary stones chiseled out of the sides of the mountains. Besides the outer limits, we can now fix the site of many a city whose very existence was formerly in doubt. Nineveh, Pithom, Lachish, and Amenophis IV's capital at Tel el-Amarna are notable examples. The identification of hundreds of sites has given us a standard of measurements of distances, so that we are able to estimate the probable relations of events that occurred at this and that place. In short, our increased knowledge of ancient geography has furnished us a plan drawn to a scale on which we may locate anew many of the events of the millennium of the Old Testament.

280. Chronology is a right-hand helper to geography. It is a gratifying fact that the inscriptions have let in a little light on the troublesome chronology of the Old Testament. The discovery of several eponym lists covering about two and one-half centuries, or from about 900-666 B. C., has given hope to an apparently hopeless maze. By the use of these tables we can determine in part the Hebrew methods of compiling historical facts, and also the allowance that must be made when we estimate the chronology of the Hebrew kings of this period. It is interesting to note that Ussher's and the eponym chronology agree in locating the fall of Samaria in 722 B. C., but that as we recede Ussher's dates are

too long. Instead of 975 (Ussher), the division of the kingdom occurred at about 931 B. C. Though Egyptian chronology is as yet fragmentary, it is quite probable that the exodus occurred about 1276 B. C., while the period of the Tel el-Amarna letters was between 1450 and 1400 B. C. The time for a complete reconstruction of biblical chronology has not yet arrived. But we can make valuable use of every new fact until such time comes. The vital importance of the facts already acquired must be apparent to every careful student of the period of the prophets.

281. The Old Testament is a kind of picture gallery of the nations. Some of the peoples are depicted much more in detail than others. Of some we see only a bare outline. Now we are able to touch up many of those pictures with new and striking colors. We are able not only to complete these pictures, but to estimate the relations of the subjects to each other. The Aramæans and the Hittites, the Assyrians and the Chaldeans, the Elamites and the Persians, the Samaritans and the Jews, can now be compared and contrasted, with some probability of arriving at safe conclusions. This study will also aid us in estimating the specific influence of each of these peoples in Israel. The better we understand the ethnography of Israel's day, as preserved in the inscriptions, the more far-reaching and just will be our conclusions as to their relations to Israel.

282. The outer life of a nation can be correctly

estimated from the character of its religion and worship. With that elaborate work out of old Egypt, the 'Book of the Dead,' and our penitential hymns, and incantations in the cuneiform literature, we can partially understand the religious life of the Egyptian and Babylonian. The devotion of the Babylonian-Assyrian kings to their great divinities is also a revelation of the religious life of those monarchs. The very constitution of many of their names is religious, embodying as it does the name of one of their principal deities, and the recognition of his part in the life of the named. The Egyptian, Aramæan, Phœnician, and many other deities mentioned in the Old Testament are now known either in the portraiture or in the narrative of their respective peoples. The attributes assigned to these deities are those that give the chief mark to the worship of each people. Israel's fall into idolatry was a fall into the debasing life suggested by the attributes of each several deity. The better we understand these deities the more light shall we gather on the manner of Israel's defection from the worship of the true God, Jehovah.

283. The study and interpretation of language lie at the root of most other ancient oriental themes. The fact that Israel lived at different times in close proximity to many other nations, provides the possibility of introduction into her language of foreign words. This century's 'finds' have shown in the

Old Testament a large number of words of foreign origin. These words brought with them and retain their original meanings. We find Egyptian, Canaanitish, Phœnician, Aramæan, Babylonian-Assyrian, Persian, and Greek words in the Old Testament. Their meaning can now be seen in their own language, and consequently in the connections in which they appear in the Hebrew.

Again, there are many Hebrew words that occur once only in the Old Testament. Their meaning can be ascertained by a long comparative process, but it is now immensely clarified by the discovery in one of the new cognate tongues of that word in scores or hundreds of connections. This fact, especially from the side of the Babylonian-Assyrian, the extent of whose vocabulary is not yet measured, lends great value to the linguistic study of the Old Testament. The significance, too, of the proper names of the Old Testament is greatly enhanced by these linguistic additions to our knowledge.

284. The definiteness and clearness of meaning of a passage is dependent on our understanding the exact meaning of its words, or the meaning which the author intended that its words should convey. The discovery of words that aid us in understanding obscure and difficult portions of the Old Testament is a most happy contribution to its exegesis. This fact increases the necessity every year for new translations and expositions of the Bible. It emphasizes the im-

portance of carefully watching the results of the work of Old Testament scholars, especially in expository or exegetical lines. Every preceding item in this chapter contributes its part to the understanding of the Old Testament. The ever-increasing volume of new facts, in their new relations, necessitates new expositions and new commentaries. The ever-expanding realm of truth requires that the student of the Old Testament should be fully conversant with the best that touches his work, and the best thought on his work.

285. Our old Old Testament has now become a marvelously new Old Testament. Many of its transformers were peoples whose ambitions were coequal with the abode of man, whose policy was 'might establishes right,' and whose interests were supremely selfish. These nations formed the background of Israel's life, and gave it many a tint, many a shade, and spots of darkest dye. But their records, chiseled in adamantine volumes, stamped in perishable clay, painted in the darkness of the tombs, or cut on mountain side, bring impartial, unimpeachable, and conclusive proof of the veracity of the Old Testament.

APPENDIX

THE LAWS OF HAMMURABI AND THE LAWS OF MOSES

286. Hammurabi was king of Babylon about 2285-2242 B. C. He was the sixth king in the first Babylonian dynasty. He has left us numerous inscriptions that testify to his greatness as a king and administrator. He was the political unifier of the smaller kingdoms of Babylonia. He was also a king of no mean literary achievements, for some of the choicest documents of this period were due directly to his energy.

Our chief interest in his name, however, is found in the fact that he was a contemporary of Abraham. His name is identical with that of Amraphel *(Ammurapaltu)* king of Shinar (Babylonia) in Gen. xiv. 1, who was one of the four kings of the East that formed a coalition against the rebellious kings of the Westland — the five kings of the cities of the plain. The members of the eastern coalition were Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar (Rim-Sin, king of Larsa), Chedorlaomer, king of Elam (whose capital was Susa), and Tidal, king of Goiim. These kings routed and overthrew their rebellious subjects, but in turn were put to rout by Abraham and his allies, who recovered the captives and booty.

287. The conquests and administration of Hammurabi as a ruler covered the Babylonian valley and extended westward to the Mediterranean Sea. The discoveries of the last quarter-century have continually enlarged our conceptions of the importance of this king in the civilization of lower Babylonia in the days of Abraham. But our most roseate expectations of light on this period have faded out in the presence of the discoveries made at Susa by the expedition of the French government. In December, 1901, and January, 1902, M. J. de Morgan, the indefatigable French archæologist and excavator, found on the site of the old acropolis of Susa (Shushan of Esther) portions of a broken *stèle* of black diorite, a stone much in favor in the Persian gulf countries for the production of statues and obelisks. The portions thus found were put together and formed a *stèle* a little more than eight feet high, about six feet in circumference at the base, and five feet at the top. On the obverse at the top we have a representation of the god Shamash sitting upon a throne, and holding in his extended hand what appears to be a rod and a circle with lines across it, resembling somewhat the symbol of eternity seen on so many Egyptian monuments. In front of, and facing this seated figure is a standing personage supposed to be a representation of Hammurabi, to whom the mysterious symbols are being extended or presented. Beneath these figures on the obverse are

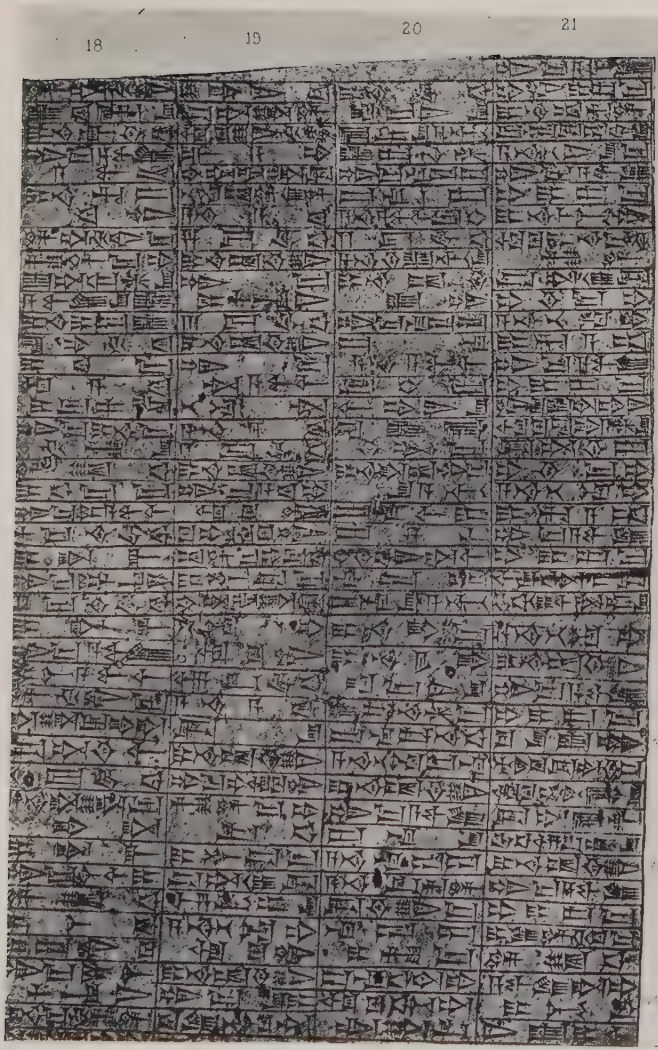
KING HAMMURABI WORSHIPPING THE GOD SHAMASH

sixteen columns of writing, carrying 1114 lines. There were formerly five more columns on this side, but they have been erased by polishing the shaft, perhaps for the purpose of cutting upon it an inscription of victory or dedication. On the reverse side there are twenty-eight columns containing more than 2,500 lines of inscriptions.

288. The contents of this great document is its most striking feature. When we remember that its author was a contemporary of Abraham, and was thoroughly versed in the best things of that time, the contents have more than the usual importance. This ancient *stèle* carried on its surface Hammurabi's code of civil laws. The prologue consists of about 700 lines which are devoted to the adulation and glorification of the author, to his care for his subjects, to his devotion to his gods, and to the elaboration of the cities and districts under his sway. Professor Scheil, who published an admirable edition of this code within nine months after its discovery, estimates that the entire document, before the erasure of five columns, contained 282 separate and individual laws. The remainder, after deducting the prologue, of the sixteen columns of the obverse contains sixty-five laws. Professor Scheil thinks the erased five columns carried thirty-five laws. The twenty-eight columns of the reverse carry 182 laws, making a total of 247 laws legible and intact on this diorite *stèle*.

289. The character of the writing is that current in Babylonia from about 3000-2000 B. C. The work was done in a beautifully artistic style, and, from the method of constructing the signs, was executed by at least two scribes or artisans. The language of this long document is Semitic Babylonian, with a few ideograms distributed through it. Of course, there are some new words, words hitherto unknown in Babylonian literature, but no more than we should expect to find in a new document from such a remote age.

290. This code of Hammurabi is purely a civil code. It is a collection of important cases in common and statute law. They are closely linked with every-day life, and give us an insight into the construction of society in a period nearly 1,000 years before Moses. They are arranged in systematic order and cover a wide range of cases. After an introduction on evidence and decision, they fall into two main divisions: (I) property, (II) person. The first division is subdivided into (1) personal, (2) real estate, (3) trade and business. The second main division is subdivided into (1) the family, (2) injuries, and (3) laborers and labor. These great subdivisions are marvelously subdivided into the 242 laws following the introduction. Constructed as they are, they presuppose courts and legal processes for hundreds of years before the date of their codification, the time of Hammurabi. They tell us that



PORTION OF THE INSCRIPTION OF KING HAMMURABI

Babylonia had reached a high state of civilization many centuries prior to the time of Abraham.

291. The social structure was made up of the free-born, freedman, and the slave. Of the first two classes we find the priesthood, merchants, and soldiers. The king had a commander-in-chief of his troops, a captain, and a revenue collector. There were some persons, who, through the favor of the king, or by martial valor, won high social positions. The manual laborer and the physician belonged to the lower strata of society, at least they received stipulated wages, while the architect and ship-builder received for their skilled labor, a present. A slave was valued as so much money, nevertheless he was permitted to engage in business. The value of his person, when injured, is significant. A freeborn person was regarded as equal in value to two who had acquired their freedom; and one such freedman was as valuable as two slaves.

292. The following is a translation of part of the prologue of the code:

When Anu the sublime, King of the Anunnaki, and Bel the lord of heaven and earth, who decreed the destiny of the land, assigned to Marduk, the chief son of Ea, dominion over all mankind, and made him great among the Igigi, and spake the exalted name of Babylon and made it great in the four quarters of the world, and founded an everlasting kingdom in it, whose foundations are laid as solidly as those of heaven and earth — then they [Anu and Bel] called me, Hammurabi, the exalted prince, who feared the gods, to bring about the rule of righteousness in the land, to destroy

the wicked and evil-doers; so that the strong might not harm the weak; so that I should rule over the blackheaded people like Shamash, to enlighten the land and to further the well-being of mankind.

Hammurabi, the prince named by Bel am I, producing riches and abundance, providing every requirement for Nippur and Dur-ilu, sublime supporter of Ekur [temple of Bel in Nippur, seat of Bel's worship]; the wise king, who re-established Eridu in its place, and purified the worship of E-apsu [temple of Ea at Eridu, the chief seat of Ea's worship]; who conquered the four quarters of the world, made great the name of Babylon, rejoiced the heart of Marduk, his lord, who daily paid his devotions in Esagila [Marduk's temple in Babylon]; the royal scion whom Sin begot; who enriched Ur [Abraham's birthplace, the seat of the moon-god, Sin]; . . . the warrior who guarded Larsa and rebuilt E-babbara [temple of Shamash in Ellasar] for Shamash, his helper; the lord who granted new life to Erech, who brought water in abundance to its inhabitants, who raised the tower of E-anna [temple of Ishtar-Nanâ at Erech], who increased the wealth of Anu and Nanâ; the protector of the land; who re-united the scattered inhabitants of Nisin, and who richly endowed E-gal-mah [temple of Nisin]. . . . When Marduk had sent me to rule the people and to bring help to the country, I established law and justice in the land, and promoted the well-being of its population.

293. The prologue is followed by the full code of laws. Before examining those which are analogous to the laws of the Pentateuch, a few outline facts will be of interest. The code contains thirty-two offenses for which the penalty is death. Some of these are (1) witchcraft, (2) threatening witnesses, (3) perjury, (4) theft, (5) receiving stolen goods, (6) appropriation of lost property, (7) selling lost property, (8) fraudulent claim of property as lost,

(9) kidnapping, (10) procuring the desertion of a slave, (11) harboring a fugitive slave, (12) harboring a deserting soldier, (13) detaining a fugitive slave, (14) housebreaking, (15) highway robbery, (16) theft at a fire, (17) allowing seditious brawling in a wineshop, and (18) for constructing a faulty building that should fall upon and kill its owner.

The method of executing the sentence is specified in a few cases: (1) burning, as the penalty, (a) for a priestess of the temple who opens or enters a wineshop, (b) for the crime of incest, (c) for a thief caught at a fire; (2) drowning as the penalty, (a) for cheating in the selling of drink, (b) for adultery, (c) for a careless, reckless wife, (d) for deserting a husband's home in his enforced absence; (3) impalement on a stake, for a woman who causes the death of her husband.

294. Next to death the severest penalty inflicted was mutilation of the criminal. Some of these were the following: (1) branding on the forehead, as a penalty for slander; (2) cutting off the ear, as the penalty for a slave who injures his owner's son; (3) putting out the eye, as a penalty for destroying another's eye, that is, "an eye for an eye"; (4) cutting off the fingers, as a penalty (a) for striking one's father, (b) for a surgeon whose operation causes a man's death, (c) for a brander who spoils the sale of a slave by branding him; (5) cutting out the tongue, for a slanderous son.

The law of retaliation also figured in the penalties. Some of these were: (1) "an eye for an eye," (2) a bone for a bone, (3) "a tooth for a tooth," (4) a life for a life, in this law (No. 230): "If it [a poorly constructed house] causes the death of a son of the owner of a house, they shall put to death a son of that builder"; (5) a slave for a slave (No. 231): "If it causes the death of a slave of the owner of the house, he shall give to the owner of the house a slave of equal value"; (6) penalty intended for another (No. 13): "If a man sue another at court, and fail to produce his testimony within six months, the penalty that would have been pronounced if he had proved his case, shall be retroactive upon himself."

295. The list of money fines for various kinds of assaults, wounds in quarrels, distraint on a working ox, stealing corn, or irrigating machines, runs up into scores, and the amounts are graduated according to the social position of the guilty party.

The fees also of some public-service officials were established by law; for example, if the physician or surgeon cured a wound, or a disease of the eye by a surgical operation, a freeman paid him ten shekels of silver, a freedman paid him five, and a slave two. If he set and healed a broken limb, a freeman paid him five shekels, a freedman three, and a slave two.

The wages of certain laborers was fixed by law. We find that the king fixed the wages, to be paid by

the year, of a boatman, a herdman, a reaper, and a thresher; to be paid by the day, of an artisan, a brickmaker, a carpenter, a stone-cutter, a tailor, a milkman, of an ox or an ass or a calf for threshing, of an ox wagon and driver, of a wagon alone, of a common boat, a passenger boat, and a freight boat.

296. The laws regulating the home, the relations of husband and wife, their individual property rights, the rights and relations of the children, the complications of dowry rights reveal a very complex state of society. These laws are carefully and discriminatingly stated, and give woman no mean position in the Babylonian home of the twenty-third century B. C. To illustrate, the following are a few of the provisions regarding the wife: No. 128, "If a man take a wife and do not arrange with her the (proper marriage) contracts, that woman is not a (legal) wife"; No. 142, The wife was allowed by law to leave a slanderous and mean husband, and to take her dowry with her; No. 133, She was obliged to remain faithful to her husband if she were well provided for; No. 136, If a husband desert his city and his home, his wife is free to re-marry, and is not required to return to him if he afterwards return; No. 135, If a husband is carried captive by an army, his wife may re-marry, but if he return, she must return to him, leaving any children she may have borne her second husband to their father; No. 138, "If a man divorce a wife who has not borne him

children, he must return to her the amount of her marriage settlement, and the marriage dowry that she brought from her father's house"; No. 145, "If a man's wife be barren, he may take a concubine, but she shall not rank with his wife (compare the relations of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar).

297. The laws for the regulation of agriculture and business are many, and are indicative of the complexities of commercial life in Abraham's day. They show that the Babylonians were a thrifty agricultural and commercial people, whose methods of trade were in need of strict governmental control. On the other hand, the laws of the Pentateuch scarcely touch commercial life, though they do deal with agricultural interests. The Ḥammurabi laws look rather at the external act, while the Pentateuch regards the inner thought, feelings, and desires.

There is an element in the laws of the Pentateuch that doubtless existed from a remote antiquity. In many laws of Hammurabi's code there are provisions, some identical and others almost identical with those of the Pentateuch. The similarities are so striking that a few quotations will follow, mainly to illustrate how the codes of Hammurabi and of Moses read side by side.

298. Comparison of the two codes, Moses (in Exodus 21-23) and Hammurabi:

Exodus.	*Hammurabi.*
21: 2.	No. 117.
If thou buy a Hebrew bondman, six years he shall serve; and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.	If a man be in debt and sell his wife, son or daughter, or bind them over to service, for three years they shall work in the house of their purchaser or lord; in the fourth year they shall go free.
21:15.	No. 195.
He that smiteth his father or his mother shall be surely put to death.	If a son strike his father, they shall cut off his fingers.
21:16.	No. 14.
And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.	If a man steal a man's son who is a minor, he shall be put to death.
21:18, 19.	No. 206.
And if men contend, and one smite the other with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed; if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit; only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.	If one man strike another in a quarrel and cripple him, he shall swear: "I did not strike with (previous) intent," and he shall then be responsible for the physician ('s fee).
21:26.	No. 199.
And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, and destroy it, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake.	If one destroy the eye of a man's servant, or break a bone of a man's servant, he shall pay one-half his value.

Exodus.	*Hammurabi.*
21:28.	No. 250.
And if an ox gore a man or a woman to death, the ox shall be surely stoned, and its flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit.	If a bull, when passing through the street, gore a man and bring about his death, this case has no penalty.
21:29.	No. 251.
But if the ox was wont to gore in time past, and it hath been testified to its owner, and he hath not kept it in, but it hath killed a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and its owner also shall be put to death.	If a man's bull have been wont to gore, and they have told him his habit of goring, and he have not protected his horns, or have not tied him up, and that bull gore the son of a man, and cause his death, he shall pay one-half mana of silver.
21:32.	No. 252.
If the ox gore a man-servant or a maid-servant, there shall be given unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.	If it be the servant of a man, he shall pay one-third mana of silver.
22:2.	No. 22.
If the thief be found breaking in, and be smitten so that he dieth, there shall be no blood-guiltiness for him.	If a man carry on highway robbery and be captured, that man shall be put to death.

Exodus.	*Hammurabi.*
22:3.	No. 8.
If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be blood-guiltiness for him; he shall make restitution: if he have nothing then, he shall be sold for his theft.	If a man steal ox or sheep, ass or pig, or boat—if it be from a god (located in a temple) or a palace, he shall restore thirty-fold; if it be from a freeman, he shall render tenfold. If the thief have nothing wherewith to pay he shall be put to death.
23:8.	No. 4.
And thou shalt take no bribe; for a bribe blindeth them that have sight, and perverteth the words of the righteous.	If a man (in a suit at law) offers to the witness (as a bribe) grain or money, he shall himself bear the penalty imposed in that suit.

299. The above likenesses, similarities, and analogies are a few of the many that are to be observed between those two codes. If we pass on into Leviticus and Deuteronomy we discover scores of other similarities of a remarkable character. These deal with such subjects as robbery, kidnapping, murder, right of the first-born, divorce, incest, punishment by flogging, and ill-treatment of animals. These likenesses are found to exist between documents that have been supposed to have originated from 800 to 1200 years apart, depending on the date of composition assigned the covenant code (Exodus 21-23). Then again, Hammurabi was the predecessor of

Moses by at least 800 years; and lived in the midst of the civilization from which Abraham migrated when he went west to the Mediterranean coast-lands.

300. The fact of the priority of Hammurabi's laws gives rise to a multitude of questions touching the criticism of the Pentateuch. Years will be necessary before we can adequately answer many of these questions. Our conceptions of Moses and his resources must be materially modified. We must henceforth look upon him as a compiler for Israel of many laws which had been in written existence more than a thousand years before his day. We must also modify our conceptions of how the words introductory to Moses' laws must be interpreted. The critical views of the origin of many of the laws ascribed to Moses in the Pentateuch, locating them in the ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries, and even later B. C., must not only be modified, but in some cases, entirely rejected. This code of Hammurabi with all its information, will necessitate the re-writing of large parts of all the works that deal with the civilizations that lie back of the constructive period of the history of the ancient Hebrews, and will reassure us of the superiority of the religious and spiritual elements in the Old Testament.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY

(ADDITIONAL TO BOOKS NAMED IN THE TEXT)

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The Book of Judges; 1 and 2 Kings: Hosea; Haggai; Ezra.

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Chapter V: Cuneiform Secrets Revealed

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